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ABSTRACT

One in a series of publications designed to disseminate information concerned with international agricultural development, this occupational study on improvement of training of high-talent manpower is presented to serve rural sociology both in the United States and the rest of the world by reporting research on the profession of rural sociology. Data were collected by questionnaires or interviews with international practitioners, American professors having experience in training international practitioners, and graduate students currently preparing for careers outside the United States. The central focus is on internationalizing a body of knowledge as a facilitating condition in international training: the developing of a set of minimum concpets and general principles that have international (cross cultural) validity for equipping professionals from one society to work in any other. After providing information on the design and execution of the study, as well as narrative descriptions and data on its findings, the report presents 16 recommendations on intercultural transferability of data and training, professional communication and international flow of data, recruitment policies and procedures for American universities, training in research methodology and theory construction in the United States, social theory emphasis during training in the United States, and special programs to internationalize rural sociology and rural sociologists. (BO)

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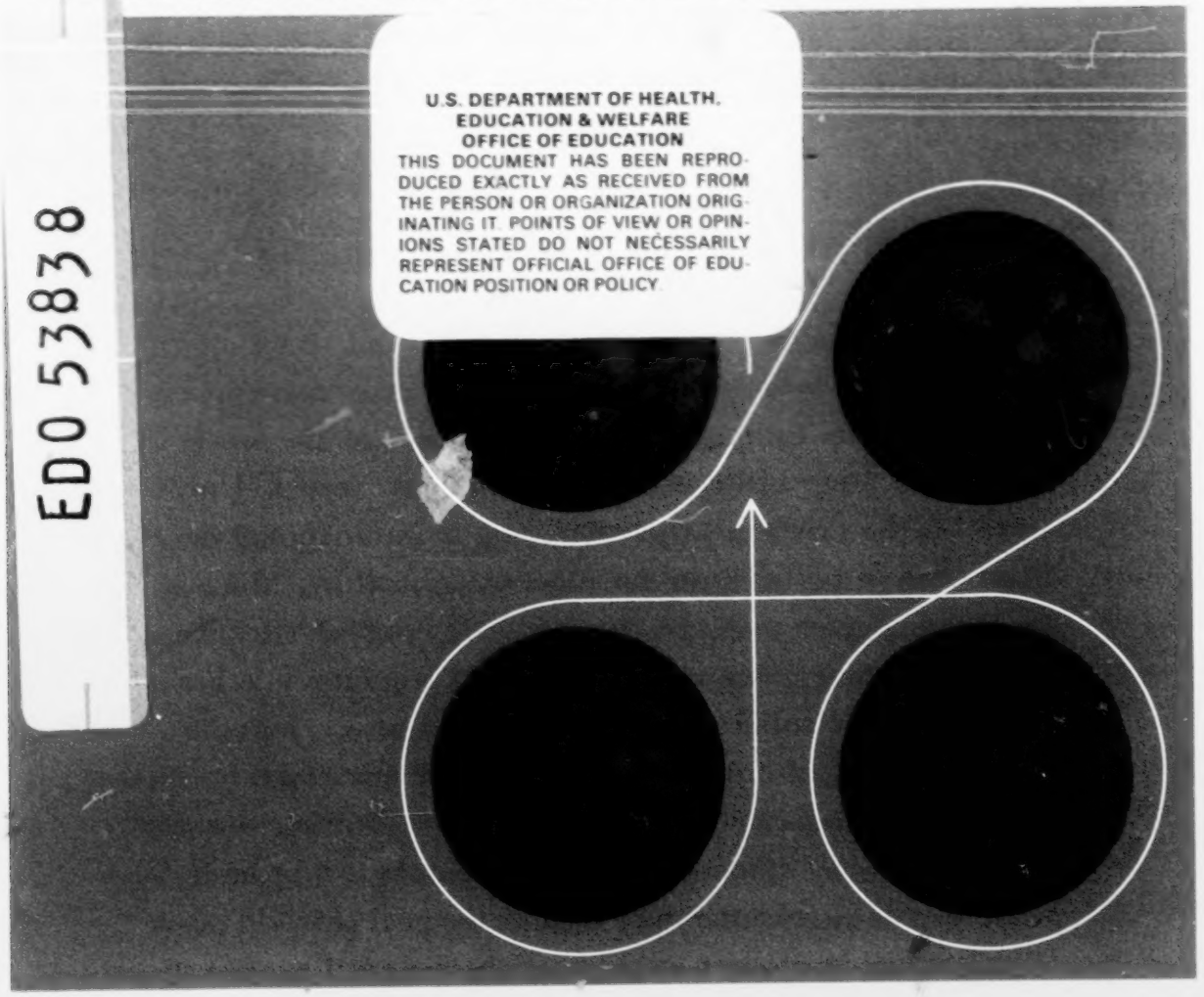

INTERNATIONALIZING RURAL SOCIOLOGY

TRAINING • PRACTICE • RECRUITMENT

Lee Taylor, William Reeder, J. J. Mangalam

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Preface

This publication is a report of research endorsed by the Council of the Rural Sociological Society and supported by a grant from the Agricultural Development Council, Incorporated. Responsibility for the statements and interpretations in this report, however, rests with its three authors. The report is presented to serve rural sociology both in the United States and the rest of the world.

We extend a special appreciation to our colleagues, in the United States and abroad, who gave us time and showed us great hospitality when we were interviewing. We also state our appreciation for all the faculty and students who completed questionnaires for the study. The student questionnaires were distributed and collected by the following professors for whom special thanks are hereby recorded: J. Allan Beegle, Alvin L. Bertrand, Therel Black, Emory Brown, Arthur R. Jones, John Kelley, Gerald Klonglan, C. Paul Marsh, Douglas Marshall, Bardin Nelson, Walter Slocum, and Jerry Stockdale.

Early counsel and encouragement for the work of this project came from David Lindstrom and Edgar Schuler. Two Agricultural Development Council Workshops critically reviewed the formulation of this project. The Development Committee of the Rural Sociological Society has had a continuing interest in the progress of this work. Many colleagues, especially Howard Beers, Alvaro Chaparro, Orlando Fals-Borda, Douglas Marshall, and Robert Polson, read the draft of this manuscript in part or in full. For all of this assistance and encouragement we are grateful.

The analysis of the data was handled with dispatch by Mrs. Marilyn Schnell. All the step-by-step details of the entire project were ably handled by Mrs. Maura Lynch, who functioned as a research associate and secretary throughout the project. The high quality of her effort and interest has facilitated and improved the research and this final report. We record our special gratitude for her excellent work. We also express appreciation for the data analysis and typing done by Mrs. Carol Decker.

The final typing was the responsibility of Miss Rita Samrow, Urban Studies Institute, Louisiana State University in New Orleans. Mrs. Lee Taylor carefully proofread the entire manuscript. We record our special gratitude for all the above excellent work.

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Chapter 1. The Study: Its Design and Execution

Introduction

International study since the seventeenth-century grand tours in Europe has been a growing tradition[1] and particularly in the second half of the twentieth century,[2] with its network of facilities for fast travel and communication, has gained in world importance. In addition to political and scientific leaders, increasing numbers of people from many nations visit other nations in times of both peace and war. The world as a common market place has become both frustrating and challenging. Peoples of all nations are seeking new definitions of man's rights and improved ways of social justice. In this seeking sociology, the science of social interaction and its products has a special part to play. Most of the world is rural; hence the sociology of rural life should prepare itself to help in the enormous task of reconstructing the world to provide for man's rights in a just world social order.

Sociological inquiry concerning human relations in rural life began to take formal shape in the United States shortly after the Country Life Convention of 1908.[3] In 1912 the theme of the American Sociological Society's annual meeting was "Rural Life." In 1925, with the passage of the Purnell Act, additional support for rural sociological studies came from the United States Department of Agriculture and agricultural experiment stations in United States colleges of agriculture. As the number of scholars interested in this area of inquiry increased, the journal *Rural Sociology* was founded in 1936 and the Rural Sociological Society in 1937. From the 1920's to the 1950's most of the efforts of American* sociologists concerned with rural life were focused on the phenomenon as observed in the United States. In the post-World War II years, rural sociological interests expanded rapidly to countries outside the United States.

Before World War II only a few scholars from other nations came to study rural sociology in the United States. In the post-World War II years many more came, and by the early 1960's the Rural Sociological Society was in effect an international society. It followed naturally that

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[1] This and all following superscript numbers refer to notes in the Appendix, p. 88.

* Throughout this publication *America* and *American* refer to the United States of America.

members of this society began to raise questions about the appropriateness and competence of the training that American institutions were offering to students of rural sociology from abroad.

As the international dimensions of rural sociological interests continued to expand, the first World Congress for Rural Sociology was organized, and met in Dijon, France in 1964. Following this important Congress, the Development Committee of the Rural Sociological Society renewed with vigor its interest in systematically appraising the need of training students here and from abroad in rural sociology for international work and of evaluating the appropriateness of the training currently being offered. It was apparent in the Development Committee's discussions that there was little systematic evidence concerning the usefulness of the training received by students from abroad when they returned to their home countries.[4]

As more and more American professors undertook assignments outside the United States, the need for more rural sociology in other areas of the world in general and in the developing nations in particular became apparent. In 1966, as part of the Development Committee's work, Lee Taylor agreed to draft a research proposal to be reported to the Rural Sociology Society Council for endorsement. In preparing this proposal, Taylor was joined by William Reeder and J. J. Mangalam, each of whom also had long-standing and specialized interests in international student training. A number of other colleagues were also consulted. The proposal, entitled "International Rural Sociologists: Their Aspirations, Training, and Practice," was presented to the Agricultural Development Council by Lee Taylor and Orlando Fals-Borda. It was funded for July 1, 1967 to June 30, 1969.

The present study reports research on the profession of rural sociology with the aim of enhancing and strengthening it.[5] As such, it is an occupational study, designed to improve training of high talent manpower.[6]

Chronology of the Study

Literature Survey

Initial work on the study involved a survey of existing literature on the activities and experiences of international students and on the development of sociology and related social sciences. There are numerous descriptive studies of foreign students from specific countries, such as India, Mexico, and the Scandinavian countries, which describe the goals of the students, their experiences, problems of anxiety and adjustment in America, and problems of adjustment and identifying upon returning home.[7] Other studies concern problems of cross-cultural education, exchange relationships, and

selection procedures.[8] And some studies report trends in the number of international student exchanges.[9] Finally, some studies focus on the overseas American.[10] Most of this literature was instructive to the present study, but none of it specifically dealt with the central focus of this study, namely the internationalizing of a body of knowledge as a facilitating, if not a necessary, condition in international training. (*Internationalizing a body of knowledge* means the developing of a set of minimum concepts and general principles that have international (cross-cultural) validity. Similarly, *international training* means the equipping of professionals from one society to work in any other.) The literature concerning the training of social scientists and the development of the social sciences is limited and mostly descriptive.

After the literature survey, the next significant steps in the development of the study design were two Agricultural Development Council (A/D/C) workshops devoted to critical reviews of the problem areas under study.

A/D/C Workshops

The workshops supported by the Agricultural Development Council related to training for international rural sociologists as teachers, researchers, and applied scientists. Participants were Howard W. Beers (University of Kentucky), Harold Capener (Cornell University), Odd Grande (Agricultural State College of Norway), J. J. Mangalam (University of Guelph, Ontario), Douglas Marshall (University of Wisconsin), Glenn McCann (North Carolina State University), Robert Polson (Cornell University), William Reeder (Cornell University), Prodipto Roy (National Institute of Community Development, Hyderabad, India), Irwin T. Sanders (Vice President, Education and World Affairs), Russell Stevenson (Agricultural Development Council), Lee Taylor (Cornell University), A. M. Weisblat (Agricultural Development Council), and Clifton R. Wharton, Jr. (Agricultural Development Council). All the participants had extensive international experience and were themselves either international practitioners or educators of international practitioners or a combination of the two.*

The first workshop focused considerable discussion on internationalizing professional education in general and rural sociology in particular. A clear need to internationalize the discipline was presented. The training in rural sociology, it was recognized, must be given in as many international settings as possible and not just in the United States.

Rural sociological study particularly in its empirical manifestations has been largely an American phenomenon. The transferability of concepts from one socio-cultural situation to another must be established through research before a

* Throughout this report, *internationals* or *international practitioners* refers to non-United States citizens who took one or more graduate degrees in the United States.

generic, international rural sociology can be built. In effect, the workshop participants emphasized that the important issue confronting rural sociology was one not of just improving training but also of refining and verifying the concepts and body of knowledge cross-culturally.

The second workshop focused its attention on social science research methodology in cross-cultural settings. The second workshop also clearly brought out the need for rural sociologists to go beyond bicultural experiences in their training and in the practice of their occupation. Repeatedly, American participants in the workshop found themselves comparing their experience with the typically one other culture in which each had had professional experience. The internationals compared their sociological knowledge of North America with their home cultures. In both cases it became quite clear that the typical pattern of international experience really has been only bicultural. Bicultural sociological experience, it was asserted, probably sets as many blinders as it creates assets on the internationalizing of rural sociology. Both in concepts and training, it was asserted, multicultural, not bicultural, situations and institutions are needed. Research questions were therefore constructed to test this workshop notion of multicultural versus bicultural internationalization. Special questions were also constructed for the interview guides and questionnaires so that the research would provide insights into the transferability of concepts cross-culturally.

In sum, the two workshops called loudly and clearly for new internationalized institutional supports for rural sociology.

A General Frame of Reference for Evaluation

The major foci of this study as developed during the two A/D/C workshops were: (1) the content of training high talent, international manpower for rural sociology to give competence in any socio-cultural context; and (2) the location of institutes for such training. As a scientific discipline, sociology should have concepts and theories that have cross-cultural or universal validity. A test of whether or not such concepts and hypotheses derived from the theories exist, is a test of the degree to which sociology has come of age as a scientific discipline. Thus, a study of this nature, in which we are concentrating upon the training of international rural sociologists from other nations who come to the United States for advanced training provides a test of the growth of the discipline itself. In short, this is an evaluative study with policy implications for the content, the methods, and the locale of training *and* the development of the discipline as a science.

Any evaluative research is helped

by a frame of reference, and this one is no exception. Following the workshops, we devised such a frame of reference. What follows is a schematized framework for this evaluative research. Figure 1 represents this framework in a general way that is applicable with necessary modifications to training in any discipline in any country. We will elaborate on this framework, of course, with respect to the training of international students in rural sociology.

The framework or model for evaluation is represented by a three-dimensional figure, bounded by the coordinates OA, OB, and OP. The coordinate OA represents *actors* in the model. These actors are the persons or groups who have taken one or more of the various steps involved in training (to be described below). The figure suggests at least four such actors: the trainees or students themselves (A_1), the sponsors in the students' own country (A_2), the sponsors in the country where training takes place (A_3), and the trainers or the university where the training takes place (A_4). With respect to our current concerns, the trainees are rural sociology students from technologically less-developed nations coming to America to receive the M.A. and/or Ph.D. degrees. The sponsors at home (A_2) could be the students themselves with or without the support of their families, private agencies, or public agencies such as government departments. Similar categories would apply to sponsors in America (A_3). The universities

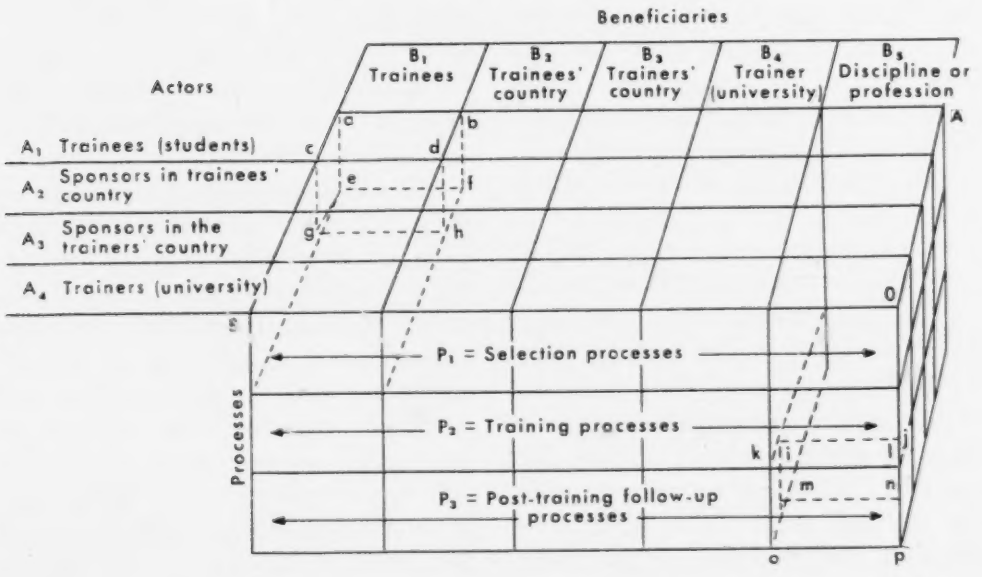

Figure 1. **General framework for evaluating training of students in foreign countries.**

that train these students are mainly the land-grant universities which have major programs of training in rural sociology, either in separate departments or in association with such subject areas as agricultural economics or general sociology.

The coordinate OB represents the beneficiaries of training. These include in the present case the trainees themselves (B_1), the trainee's country of origin (B_2), America (B_3), the land-grant universities (B_4), and the profession of rural sociology (B_5). There could be others.

The coordinate OP represents the selection or recruiting process (P_1), the training process (P_2), and the post-training follow-up process (P_3).

Let us at once point out two assumptions we are *not* making: (1) We are not assuming that these three coordinates and the dimensions they represent exhaust the dimensions of the problem of this kind of evaluation, but only that at least these three are involved; (2) We are not assuming that there are only four actors, five beneficiaries, and three processes, but rather that there are at least these many actors, beneficiaries, and processes to be taken into account.

If we slice up the three-dimensional figure into subunits, following the divisions along OA, OB, and OP, we will have 60 pieces, each representing an issue that needs to be answered in a complete and careful study of evaluation. For example, the slice *abcdefgh* represents what the trainees have done about the selection (self-selection in this case) process to study in America so that their training will have the maximum benefit to themselves. Again, the slice *ijklmnop* represents what actions the American universities took in the post-training, follow-up process to maximize the benefits of this training program for rural sociology as a scientific discipline. Such issues raise, in turn, questions concerning the objectives of the actors in initiating training for these students in America. Also, what would constitute benefits to the beneficiaries needs to be spelled out, for without a statement of objectives and nature of benefits no rational judgment can be made of the actions taken by the four actors (A_1, A_2, A_3, A_4).

It will be readily granted that raising and answering all the issues and questions associated with all 60 slices represented in figure 1 are beyond the scope of any one research. The framework helps to identify the issues involved, however, and to select the more pertinent for immediate investigation. Since we touch upon a number of these issues, we have of necessity concentrated upon those schematized in the Outline of Issues Studied.

The main purpose of a framework such as the one presented in figure 1 is to act as a guide: (a) in presenting a total view of the phenomenon being studied; (b) in identifying the various issues involved in an investigation such as the present one; (c) in picking out for study selected issues from among those identified; (d) in identifying those issues that are not being studied; and (e) with the help of (c) and (d) in obtaining a balanced view of the boundaries of the study.

Schematized Outline of Issues Studied

Beneficiary	Appropriate slice	Issues studied in terms of contributions:
B_1 (Trainees)	$A_1P_1B_1$	of trainees to the selection processes toward their career goals,
	$A_1P_2B_1$	of trainees to the training processes toward their career goals,
	$A_1P_3B_1$	of trainees to the post-training processes toward trainees' career goals,
	$A_2P_3B_1$	of trainees' sponsors at home to the post-training follow-up processes toward trainees' career goals,
	$A_4P_1B_1$	of American universities to the selection processes toward the trainees' career goals,
	$A_4P_2B_1$	of American universities to the training processes toward the trainees' career goals,
	$A_4P_3B_1$	of American universities to the post-training follow-up processes toward the trainees' career goals,
B_2 (Trainees' home countries)	$A_1P_2B_2$	of trainees to the training processes toward home countries' goals,
	$A_1P_3B_2$	of trainees to the post-training processes toward home countries' goals,
B_5 (Profession of rural sociology)	$A_2P_1B_5$	of trainees' sponsors in home countries to the selection processes toward internationalizing rural sociology,
	$A_3P_1B_5$	of American sponsors to selection processes toward internationalizing rural sociology,
	$A_3P_2B_5$	of American sponsors to training processes toward internationalizing rural sociology,
	$A_4P_1B_5$	of American universities to selection processes toward internationalizing rural sociology,
	$A_4P_2B_5$	of American universities to the training processes toward internationalizing rural sociology,
	$A_4P_3B_5$	of American universities to the post-training follow-up processes toward internationalizing rural sociology.

All this we have tried to do here. The three-dimensional figure represents the whole phenomenon of evaluation of international programs for the training of high talent manpower. The slices, each identified by its three coordinates, represent the various issues involved. The 15 issues specially considered are listed in the Outline of Issues Studied. The rest of the 60 issues were not directly studied and include, for example, issues related to the benefits that the trainer's country (the aid-giver—

United States in this specific instance) might receive from such an international training program. Nor does this study investigate how the training universities might benefit from such a program. We usually assume that training of students from technologically less-developed nations in more developed nations serves a beneficial purpose with regard to the growth of the students' homelands. The validity of this assumption needs testing but such is not attempted here.

What is being studied and not being studied are functions of availability of research resources and the immediate choices that the researchers had to make. Exclusion of certain issues does not necessarily pass judgment on the importance (or its lack) of these issues, although continued exclusion of certain topics could seem to indicate their unimportance. We do not want to imply this, especially with reference to the issues excluded in this study.

Sources of Our Data

We collected data for the study from four sources: (1) from in-depth on-location interviews with selected international practitioners; (2) through questionnaires mailed to international practitioners; (3) through questionnaires mailed to American professors who have had experience in training international practitioners; and (4) international and American graduate students currently preparing for careers outside of the United States.

Interviews with International Practitioners

The interviewing of a selected number of international practitioners was done between the beginning of December, 1967 and the end of January, 1968. In all, 64 sociologists in 14 countries were interviewed. Their numbers by country were: Brazil 6, Colombia 2, Costa Rica 3, India 17, Indonesia 2, Korea 6, Lebanon 1, Pakistan 6, Panama 1, Peru 2, Philippines 6, Puerto Rico 4, Taiwan 3, and Thailand 6.

This international interviewing had two purposes. First, it was an effort to obtain a broader view of the state of rural sociology than has ever before been achieved. Such a broad-based, international view, we judged, is essential to the development of rural sociology as a discipline. Second, we used this occasion to pretest the instrument we later sent to all international practitioners, whether we had interviewed them or not.

The names of persons to be interviewed and also of those later to receive a questionnaire were obtained (a) from the *Directory: Rural Sociological Society 1967* and (b) by direct requests sent to the major departments of sociology and/or rural sociology offering special training in rural sociology. The departments were asked to supply a list of

majors who were trained in rural sociology since 1945 along with the nationality and year each one had obtained the master's and/or doctor's degree. A special effort was made to interview older graduates, now mature in their professional experience. Some younger graduates with only the master's degree were also interviewed. An effort was made to interview persons in university positions, in government positions, and in other agency positions. As expected, the entire procedure was complicated by incorrect addresses, no addresses, and ineffective mail service. Moreover, international hostilities completely prohibited interviewing in some countries. Indeed, the situation was so complicated for Africa in general that it became economically unfeasible to travel there for interviews. In other cases interviewing was frustrated by the return of letters requesting appointments marked, for example, "Delivery prevented by enemy occupation of Jordan Territory." In spite of all such difficulties, most interview appointments were carefully established by mail, a travel itinerary set accordingly, and most interviewees were contacted with facility when the interviewers reached their destinations.

International Practitioner Questionnaire

The questionnaire, initially constructed on the basis of the discussions at the A/D/C workshops, was further refined on the basis of pretests carried out during the interviews. These questionnaires were mailed to sociologists in 35 countries in March, 1968.

Out of a total of 215 in the final list, 99 questionnaires were returned and out of them 75 were usable. After analysis of the returned questionnaires and of those not returned and considering the difficulty in keeping up-to-date mailing lists and in view of the precariousness of the international mail service, we conclude that the response was adequate. The distribution of the usable questionnaires by country was: Brazil 4, Canada 9, Chile 2, Colombia 4, Costa Rica 2, Ethiopia 1, Ghana 1, Guatemala 2, India 17, Japan 1, Jordan 1, Korea 2, Lebanon 1, Pakistan 7, Panama 1, Peru 1, Philippines 5, Puerto Rico 6, Taiwan 3, Thailand 2, and Venezuela 3.

Many letters and questionnaires were returned, some with notations that the recipient does not now really consider himself a sociologist, was not currently working as a sociologist, and so forth. Other envelopes were returned marked "unknown" or were not delivered for unspecified reasons.

American Professor Questionnaire

A questionnaire was prepared for American professors who teach rural sociology and who participate in the education of international rural sociologists and was sent to professors in 17 universities in April, 1968. The distribution of completed questionnaires by universities was: Cornell University 10, Iowa State University 5, Louisiana State University 4, Michigan State University 6, Missis-

sippi State University 8, Ohio State University 6, Pennsylvania State University 4, Texas A and M University 3, University of Connecticut 4, University of Florida 1, University of Georgia 1, University of Illinois 2, University of Kentucky 5, University of Miami 1, University of Missouri 3, University of Wisconsin 6, and Washington State University 3.

The return from all the professors who emphasize rural sociology and who are directly engaged in graduate sociology instruction of international students was practically complete. There is no official definition of such subareas of sociology as rural sociology. In these times of academic mobility several professors may be on leave or on international assignment in any given semester. Again, a professor's area of emphasis and work with graduate students may vary from semester to semester. Consequently, there is no reliable statistic to indicate at any one time the number of professors whose area of emphasis is rural sociology. Yet, in terms of the books and articles published it is possible to estimate the size of the "rural sociology professor universe with experiences in training international students" to be approximately 75.

Every major school which has a tradition of emphasizing rural sociology as one area of sociology is represented in our sample. The list of universities was drawn primarily from the *Directory of Universities Offering Graduate Degrees in Rural Sociology* (1966).

Graduate Student Questionnaire

The fourth and last body of data collected concerning the international training of rural sociologists was from the current graduate students. To be included in the study, they had to have completed one full academic year of graduate study in the United States and be students from either another nation or from the United States with a career commitment of professional work outside of the United States. Copies of the graduate student questionnaire were mailed to 12 universities in October, 1968. Distribution locally and return were handled by the following professors: J. Allan Beegle, Alvin L. Bertrand, Therel Black, Emory Brown, Arthur R. Jones, John Kelley, Gerald Klonglan, C. Paul Marsh, Douglas Marshall, Bardin Nelson, Walter Slocum, and Jerry Stockdale. The distribution of the 85 returned instruments by universities was: Cornell University 13, Iowa State University 10, Louisiana State University 6, Michigan State University 11, Mississippi State University 5, North Carolina State University 1, Pennsylvania State University 3, Texas A and M University 2, University of Georgia 10, University of Wisconsin 15, Utah State University 3, and Washington State University 6.

Determining the universe of graduate students emphasizing rural sociology for international work is at least as complex as determining the number of corresponding professors, and for many of the same reasons. Consequently, to have 85 respond with this rural sociology identifica-

tion is between reasonable to high in terms of what might be expected. Most graduate schools and most departments do not require students to make formal commitments to subareas of sociology and/or to international work. Moreover areas of emphasis in sociology graduate study often change as one progresses through the course of study. Many students do not make these commitments even informally and in their own mind until toward the end of their study. By nature the universe is a changing one. It is reasonable to believe that the responses included nearly all of the students with a firm interest in international rural sociology and a few whose dedication may shift to an alternate area of interest.

These responses from international practitioners, American professors, and graduate students constitute collectively the largest body of data collected to date in a systematic effort to examine the training for international rural sociologists. Naturally, the findings from such data must have serious implications for internationalizing rural sociology.

A further note should be made regarding the kinds of data with which we are dealing. Most of the data from our four sources are opinion data about various aspects of training. Even though these sources probably represent the best among available respondents for our study, a well-informed majority can be at times wrong. Thus, from this type of data the best we can come up with are judgments based on responses from a large number of experienced, professional colleagues.

Another type of data, different from majority opinions, supports our statements. As we traveled and interviewed we saw and heard many different things. Some of these were designed into questions; many others were not. Later on, as we analyzed the data and thought more deeply about them, many of the pieces not previously used posed issues relevant to our central topic. What to do with these issues is, of course, a question. Should we ignore them as we did not collect data directly bearing on them, or should we make statements on them based simply on our observations? To do the latter maximizes the pay-off from the study but invites extreme caution in interpretation. Since the study was designed to seek answers to some questions and to generate hypotheses to be tested later, we have taken the position that it is legitimate to state relevant hypotheses even though they cannot be tested within the scope of this study.

Progress Reports

The second World Congress of Rural Sociology, August 5–10, 1968 at Enschede, the Netherlands, was in effect a forum which demanded a progress report of this study. Accordingly, the closing session of that congress was organized by Lee Taylor and entitled *Internationalizing Training for Rural Sociologists.*[11] Formal presentations on this occa-

sion were made by William Reeder, *Some Considerations Relevant to the Training of International Rural Sociologists*; by J. J. Mangalam, *International Training of Rural Sociologists*; by Herbert Kötter, *International Training Needs from the European Perspective*; by Baij Nath-Singh, *International Training Needs from the Asian Perspective*; and by Orlando Fals-Borda, *Training Needs from the Latin American Perspective*. The session attracted favorable discussion from the floor of the congress and has led to continuing dialogue in several areas.

A report of the study was also written for the European Working Party for Rural Sociology, F.A.O.[12] and presented at their August 1968 meeting in Wageningen, the Netherlands. This report also has led to continuing discussions between F.A.O. and the Development Committee of the Rural Sociological Society toward combining efforts in furthering international rural sociology.

At the annual meeting of the Rural Sociological Society in Boston, August 23–26, 1968 a special session of the program chaired by Lee Taylor was organized, entitled "Training and Work Environment for Sociologists Outside of U.S.A." Discussants were: Irwin T. Sanders, *Developing Cooperation in International Research*; Douglas Marshall, *Departmental and Organizational Support for International Students*; Howard W. Beers, *Training in North America and in Asia*; Olen Leonard, *Work Environments: Latin America*; and William Reeder, *Transferability of Concepts and Methods*. A considerable discussion followed the presentations at this session, leading to Edgar A. Schuler's letter to the editor of *Rural Sociology*. This commented favorably on the presentation and on Reeder's recommendations.[13]

In January, 1969 a further progress report, reviewing some more of the data, was made by the authors at the meeting of the Development Committee of the Rural Sociological Society held at the University of Puerto Rico. Indeed, the character and focus of the meeting represented considerable response to the international study. An F.A.O. representative from Rome was present and special attention was given to the development needs of rural sociology throughout Latin America.

This publication now constitutes a final report of the data. The authors hope that this report will be the dynamic beginning for the building of new institutional organization and support for rural sociology on an international basis. From previous responses to progress reports and from our own conclusions from the data, we believe this report can help originate ideas leading to new, imaginative structures for internationalizing rural sociology as a scientific discipline.

Chapter 2.
Training for International Rural Sociologists

Graduate training of international rural sociologists is one of the central concerns of this project. As already stated, this report is based on data from three questionnaire surveys and on notes and observations from intensive interviews with international practitioners in Latin America, Southeast Asia, and India and Pakistan. Information in this chapter and the next are based on these two types of data.

The Problems of Being Different

Different Types of Sociologists

The intensive interviewing of so many international practitioners in many countries within a short period of time on the suitability of American sociological training to their home situations provided an unusual panoramic view of sociologists around the world. This view brought into bold relief the fact that there are many different types of sociologists and the further fact that these differences present some very difficult problems for American-trained international practitioners.

Though not the only variables on which rural sociologists differed, the six which are probably most definitive are: major activity engaged in, major social unit studied or analyzed, main method of observation, number and representativeness of observations, types of variables chosen, and basic logical orientation. These six variables may be outlined as follows:

I. Major activity	II. Major social unit being analyzed	III. Main method of observation
1. The scholar-teacher 2. Researcher-monograph writer 3. Research methodologist 4. Applier of sociology to social-change problems and programs 5. Trainer of social-change agents 6. Social theorist	1. Cultures a. General b. National c. Community 2. Social actors a. Persons b. Organizations c. Social action situations 3. Human populations a. Communities b. Regions c. Institutions d. Societies	1. Participation–observation 2. Historical 3. Experimental 4. Survey

(Continued)

IV. Number and representativeness of units observed	V. Types of variables chosen	VI. Research approach and logical orientation
1. Case studies including comparative studies 2. Representative samples	1. Reference category characteristics 2. Social actions — attitudinal-behavioral response patterns 3. Beliefs 4. Social actors and social units 5. Socially meaningful non-person objects or symbols	1. Philosophical a. deductive orientation 2. Empirical a. Inductive orientation b. Inductive–deductive orientation

Although various combinations of six variables could generate numerous possible different types, only a few general types were observed. To illustrate some of these types, four common types of American-trained rural sociologists and four common types of sociologists encountered in other societies and cultures are described as follows:

Four Common Types of American-trained Rural Sociologists

Type I. The large-sample-survey descriptive researcher
Large-sample-survey researcher. Empirical inductive monographic describer of the characteristics of human populations. A nontheorist who does not generalize beyond his data.

Type II. The large-sample-survey research methodologist
A knowledgeable expert on the tough methodological problems related to large sample survey research. A dedicated inductive empiricist devoted to the idea that science is best built through refined research methodology and through an accumulation of carefully tested hypotheses. A nontheorist whose hostility o theory and theorists increases as the theory becomes more general and/or the theorist becomes more deductive.

Type III. The large-sample-survey social-change researcher
A large-sample-survey researcher who studies either social-action situations or the characteristics of human populations in relation to either social problems or social-change programs. An empirical inductive researcher who does not generalize beyond his data. A nontheorist who does not generate theoretical propositions but who rather freely generalizes on what he considers to be the implications of his data to program improvement, policy formulation toward the solution of a problem.

Type IV. The trainer of social-change agents
The trainer of social-change agents is a particular kind of applied sociologist. He is not a researcher nor a theorist and does not generate either research data or theoretical propositions, though he will be a consumer of both in relation to his work. His expertise is in the field of community-development methodology, organization methodology, problem-solving methodology, interpersonal relations, and strategies for stimulating and generating social change usually at the individual, family, organizational, community, or regional levels. He is a consumer of both large-sample-survey research and of organizational and small-group experimental research.

(Continued)

Four Types of Sociologists Commonly Encountered in Other Societies and Other Cultures

Type I. The knowledgeable, scholar-teacher, and case-study researcher
Predominantly a knowledgeable scholar-teacher and secondarily a case study researcher, this type uses participant-observation methods to study social life holistically in underdeveloped rural villages or in the traditional villages of tribal aborigines. They are empirical, case study, descriptive researchers who seldom attempt to generalize beyond their data. This type differs from a common type of social anthropologist in North America only in that they are called sociologists.

Type II. The philosophical. historical, deductive scholar-teacher
From the screening of historical records which reflect the national culture, this type of sociologist generates guiding theories or propositions which serve as generalizations or guidelines in terms of which the present is then hypothesized by the process of deduction.

Type III. A conflict model, scholar-teacher, political sociologist
Philosophically oriented scholar-teacher. Usually an advocate of one or a combination of the European social-philosophical schools. Frequently Marxian but may be both Marxian and logical positivist. A heavy emphasis on economic materialism, political power, and change by conflict rather than education.

Type IV. An American-trained, electic, knowledgeable scholar-teacher
Essentially a knowledgeable scholar-teacher who may or may not have done research beyond the thesis. Methodologically oriented to large sample survey methods. He is usually an eclectic communicator of theoretical ideas and is not a theory builder or a theory tester. He may be a proponent of Parsons' general frame of reference or of Merton's idea of middle range theories. To propose a particular frame of reference, however, would tend to lead to preferential selection and would be somewhat in conflict with his major orientation as the purveyor of scholarly knowledge.

In several institutions where there were old established departments of s o c i o l o g y, the American-trained rural sociologists were not part of the departments but were functioning under other labels such as *Extension Education, Agricultural Extension,* or as a part of *Agricultural Economics.* In almost all cases there was a serious lack of communication between the American-trained rural sociologists and other sociologists on the campuses. Differences in background were not perceived as assets but rather as limitations and liabilities. Comments regarding other sociologists left little doubt that a sociologist tended to perceive a "good, well-qualified sociologist" as someone whose training and basic orientation was similar to his own. These evaluations showed up rather clearly in discussions of qualifications looked-for in filling staff vacancies. In some countries, few rural sociologists are in a position in which they would be training other rural sociologists. In other countries, however, sociology is a post-World War II development and almost all sociologists are American trained. In some of these countries the differences were similar to those commonly observed between general sociologists and rural sociologists in the United States.

Technical Transferability of Methods, Concepts, and Descriptive Material

When the study was being designed, it was hypothesized that there is differential technical transferability of different types of data, that methods and sensitizing concepts have high transferability from one society to another, and that substantive descriptive data have low transferability. The data strongly support these hypotheses. Professors, international practitioners, and current graduate students were all agreed that methods of obtaining sociological data, techniques for obtaining data, statistical techniques, community development processes, and concepts as sensitizing concepts calling attention to a meaningful body of data were all highly transferable from one society to another and from one culture to another with only minimal adaptations (tables 1 and 2).

The reverse position was taken in relation to substantive descriptive materials. A large majority of all three groups was of the opinion that

Table 1. **Responses of professors, graduate students, and international practitioners on transferability of specified methods and concepts received in American training**

Methods and concepts	Percent of American methods and concepts transferable to other cultures		N*
	None or few	Most or all	
Methods for obtaining research data:			
American professors	7	93	68
Current graduate students	13	87	82
International practitioners	5	95	57
Sociological concepts being taught:			
American professors	11	89	67
Current graduate students	16	84	80
International practitioners	2	98	61
Techniques for obtaining data:			
American professors	8	92	64
Current graduate students	18	82	78
Statistical techniques for analyzing data:			
International practitioners	13	87	62
Community development processes:			
American professors	15	85	45
Current graduate students	24	76	69
International practitioners	9	91	57

* N here and in subsequent tables, where not otherwise defined, represents number of responses.

Table 2. **Opinions of international practitioners on the transferability of specified methods and concepts received in their North American graduate training to their own society**

Methods and concepts	Percent of those answering				N
	None	Few	Most	All	
Statistical techniques	0	13	14	73	62
Community methods	2	7	23	68	57
Research methods	2	3	28	67	57
Sociological concepts	0	2	28	70	61

substantive descriptive materials had low transferability from one society to another and from one culture to another. When asked if they thought scales and scores validated in the United States could be used in their present form, approximately three-fourths of American professors and three-fifths of current graduate students were of the opinion that they could not be used in their present form in other societies. On another question which asked opinions about the similarity of indexes that would measure seven specific concepts in the United States and their own country, less than 10 percent thought they will be the same for 14 of 17 responses. Judgments were more evenly divided on the question of similarity versus dissimilarity. Since validation will necessarily be based on sameness rather than general similarity, the data suggest that indexes which operationalize scales and scores should be validated for all societies in which they are used.

Normative Transferability of Methods, Concepts, and Descriptive Materials

When considering transferability in designing the study, we were thinking of technical transferability. As we interviewed international practitioners, they told us of the difficulties encountered in getting fellow sociologists to accept their methods and ways of thinking about sociological problems. Later in analyzing the factors which made sociologists different (tables 2 and 3), it became evident that methods, concepts, and theories are so interdependently linked that the choice of some methods precluded the use of some concepts and that concepts which could only be generated by particular research methods in numerous cases become the basis for theoretical propositions. How much use would a participant-observer in an isolated community make of such measures as chi square, S.E.S. scales, anomia scales, or social

Table 3. **Opinions on transferability of substantive descriptive data from one society to another**

	Unlikely or very unlikely	Likely or would be the same	N
	Percent		
Proportion of a population who would have a particular attitude:			
American professors	78	22	58
Current graduate students	75	25	65
International practitioners	56	44	52
Proportion of a population who would behave in a particular way:			
American professors	73	27	55
Current graduate students	74	26	73
International practitioners	53	47	53
Meanings of reference categories, such as age, sex, and occupation:			
American professors	69	31	62
Current graduate students	66	34	68
International practitioners	38	62	55
Magnitude of a correlation between two factors, A and B:			
American professors	74	26	51
Current graduate students	82	18	65
International practitioners	57	43	47

participation scales? Research methods in North America and many of the related concepts assume large sample survey methods. Those whose tradition is case study techniques do not accept the methods and concepts of sample survey, since they see little value in them. Thus, many methods and concepts which have high technical transferability have low normative transferability.

Relationship between Levels of Generality and Transferability

The data on the transferability of methods, concepts, and substantive data suggest several relevant hypotheses:

1. Research findings and propositions which state the relationship between operational research indexes are not transferable from one society to another.
2. Although most sociological concepts used in American society call attention to a meaningful body of phenomenon in other societies, the meanings which they have in those other societies are different. The concepts, therefore, are not really the same, even though they may be somewhat similar.
3. The same concept will not be measured by the same set of operational indexes in two different societies.
4. The same meaning or approximately the same meaning will be generated by different fac-

tors in different societies so that quite different operationalized indexes will be required in two different societies to measure the same general universe of meaning.

5. The cross-cultural transferability of concepts and propositions will increase with level of generality.

The Textbook Problem

The textbook problem is a special case of the transferability issue. When we first identified a transferability problem, hypothesizing that substantive descriptive materials will have low transferability, we asked ourselves, "What proportion of the material in introductory sociology textbooks and in rural sociology books would be composed of substantive descriptive facts about American society, American organizations, and American institutions?" The senior author laughed and said, "I never thought of it before, but I would say about 90 percent." We have asked that question of colleagues many times since and the estimates range from 75 percent to 95 percent.

When asked about the appropriateness of several types of social science books for students from other societies and for American students who plan to work in other societies, research methodology books, social anthropology books, and social theory books were rated as well suited for both groups, by both American professors and current graduate students. Approximately three-fifths of both groups of respondents rated social psychology and social organization books as well suited for both groups, whereas the other two-fifths rated them as not well suited for these two types of graduate students. Introductory sociology textbooks and rural sociology texts were rated least well suited for both types of graduate students by both professors and current graduate students. Approximately two-thirds of professors and one-half of current graduate students rated them not well suited for non-Americans. One-half of professors and two-fifths of current graduate students rated them not well suited for Americans preparing for work in other societies and cultures (tables 4, 5, 6).

A further extension of the textbook problem indicated by our field interviews is that predominantly American sociology books were being used in almost all of the nations and cultures in which we trav..ed.

Criteria for Thesis Selection

Another special case of transferability is posed when considering whether a non-American graduate student should do a thesis in the United States or in his own society. Similarly, this question arises for the American student preparing for work in other societies. In practice, the choice frequently involves not only the location of the research but also the quantity and quality of supervision which will be available at key stages in the research process and the kind of problem to be studied in terms of the variety and amount of research experience the thesis experience will provide.

Table 4. **Opinions of American professors and current graduate students on suitability of specified types of American books for students from other cultures and societies who plan to work in their own societies**

Types of books	How well suited?		N
	Well or fairly well	Not very well or not well at all	
	Percent		
Research methodology books:			
American professors	87	13	67
Current graduate students	87	13	83
Social anthropology books:			
American professors	87	13	58
Current graduate students	81	19	75
Theory text books:			
American professors	80	20	67
Current graduate students	80	20	83
Social psychology books:			
American professors	61	39	63
Current graduate students	66	34	76
Social organization books:			
American professors	55	45	62
Current graduate students	65	35	78
Introductory sociology books:			
American professors	26	74	65
Current graduate students	62	38	81
Rural sociology books:			
American professors	34	66	64
Current graduate students	45	55	76

American professors and current graduate students responded that by far the heavier weight should be placed on the quality and quantity of supervision which would be available at key stages in the research process, and on the amount and variety of research experience the problem would provide. They also agreed that where possible a non-American student should do a problem in his own society and an American student planning to work abroad should do a problem in some non-American society (tables 7, 8, 9).

Table 5. **Opinions of American professors and graduate students on suitability of specified types of American books for American and Canadian students preparing for international work**

Types of books	How well suited?		N
	Well or fairly well	Not very well or not well at all	
	Percent		
Social anthropology books:			
American professors	95	5	58
Current graduate students	77	23	74
Research methodology books:			
American professors	86	14	65
Current graduate students	82	18	84
Theory books:			
American professors	80	20	66
Current graduate students	83	17	82
Social psychology books:			
American professors	73	27	63
Current graduate students	62	38	76
Social organization books:			
American professors	60	40	58
Current graduate students	65	35	80
Introductory sociology books:			
American professors	48	52	65
Current graduate students	66	34	81
Rural sociology books:			
American professors	51	49	63
Current graduate students	53	47	77

Table 6. **Opinions of international practitioners on suitability of American books in general for specified types of work**

Types of work	How well suited?		N
	Well or fairly well	Not very well or not well at all	
	Percent		
For American students preparing for international work	45	55	62
For students from another culture planning to return	57	43	72
For American students preparing for work in America	92	8	64

Table 7. **Opinions of American professors and graduate students on the importance of selected factors in thesis selection for American students training for international work**

Selected factors	Master's thesis				Ph.D. thesis			
	Not important	Fairly important	Very important	N	Not important	Fairly important	Very important	N
	Percent				Percent			
Amount and quality of supervision available at key stages during the research process:								
American professors	2	29	69	65	0	23	77	66
Current graduate students	5	24	71	78	4	20	76	80
Variety and amount of research experience provided by the problem:								
American professors	4	31	65	65	1	39	60	62
Current graduate students	8	47	45	80	2	17	81	82
A problem from outside own culture:								
American professors	47	37	16	64	30	35	35	65
Current graduate students	31	46	23	80	12	31	57	82
A problem from within own culture:								
American professors	56	31	13	64	54	29	17	66
Current graduate students	44	38	18	79	63	27	10	79

Table 8. **Opinions of American professors and graduate students on the importance of selected factors in thesis selection for students from other cultures**

Selected factors	Master's thesis				Ph.D. thesis			
	Not important	Fairly important	Very important	N	Not important	Fairly important	Very important	N
	Percent				Percent			
Amount and quality of supervision available at key stages during the research process:								
American professors	0	22	78	63	0	16	84	64
Current graduate students	6	20	74	80	6	16	78	81
Variety and amount of research experience provided by the problem:								
American professors	1	39	60	62	2	27	71	66
Current graduate students	9	27	64	81	4	24	72	83
A problem from within own culture:								
American professors	32	42	26	62	24	36	40	62
Current graduate students	29	47	24	80	21	49	30	80
A problem from outside own culture:								
American professors	59	26	15	59	51	31	18	61
Current graduate students	46	47	7	81	49	37	14	82

Table 9. **Opinions of international practitioners on the importance of selected factors in thesis preparation for students from other cultures**

Selected factors	Not important	Fairly important	Very important	Extremely important	N
	Percent				
Amount and quality of supervision available in research	0	10	35	55	72
Variety and amount of research experience provided by the problem	0	21	42	37	73
Problem from within own culture	11	14	41	34	73
Problem from outside own culture	41	49	9	1	71

The Social Theory Problem

In designing the study we did not hypothesize the various aspects of the social theory problem. Hence, unlike the transferability issues we did not design a battery of questions which would document the dimensions of the problem in numerical terms. We did, however, include a few relevant questions which are presented below. We will also present some of the other issues which emerged from our intensive interviews and from the analysis of the data.

Research Methodology and Social Theory Highly Valued

When international practitioners and American professors were asked what competencies were needed by

Table 10. **Percentage of American rural sociology professors who indicated certain skills as needed by internationals returning home**

Selected skills	Percent of respondents (N = 58)
Methodology	81
General theory	47
Ability to teach	26
Social change theory	17
Other content sociology courses	14
Communication	14
Social organization	10
Anthropology	10
Supervising field research	9
Social psychology	9
Organizational analysis	7
Professionalization	5
Human relations skills	5

Table 11. **Percentage of American professors who indicated certain skills as needed by American students planning international careers**

Skills	Percent of respondents (N = 54)
Methodology (30), research (17), statistics (4)*	94
Organization (10), administration (8), leadership (5), interpersonal skills (3), decision making (2)	52
Teaching (8), communication (4), education (3), consultative skills (2), extension methods (9), applications (2)	52
Theory	46
Social change (12), development (9), community organization (3)	44
Anthropology (9), cultural understanding (7)	30
Political understanding (5), understanding of government and bureaucracies (3)	15
Technical competencies	11
Language	9
Stratification	2
Understanding of collective behavior	2

* Certain similar skills are grouped for convenience of reporting. The figures in parentheses represent the frequency of responses for each preceding item. For example: 30 mentioned methodology, 17 research and 4 statistics, giving a total of 51 responses out of 54 (94%) for this group.

Table 12. **Percentage of American professors who recommended selected courses for international graduate students returning home**

Order of recommended courses*	Percent of respondents (N = 62)
Methodology	86
Theory	74
Social organization ...	53
Statistics	53
Social change	39
Social psychology	37
Population (demography)	37
Development sociology	34
Economics	27
Anthropology	24
Community development	21
Rural sociology	16
Political science	15
Stratification	13
General sociology	10
Urban-rural	10
Adoption-diffusion-innovation	8
Social action	7
History of sociology ..	7
Culture	7
Applied sociology	5
Communication	5
Ecology	5
Extension methods ...	5
Family	5
Philosophy of science ..	5
Social structure	5
Substantive areas	5

* Agricultural economics, collective behavior, comparative sociology, data processing, group dynamics, occupational sociology, and social systems were mentioned twice each. Linguistics, personality, religion, rural society, and social movements were mentioned once each.

non-American and American students preparing for work in other societies and what courses they should take, research methodology and social theory were the two items most frequently mentioned (tables 10–13).

Table 13. **Percentage of American professors who recommended selected courses for American students preparing for international careers**

Order of recommended courses	Percent of respondents (N = 57)
Methods	88
Theory	68
Social organization	46
Statistics	40
Population	32
Social psychology	30
Community	26
Sociology content course	25
Social change	25
Anthropology	25
Development	21
Economics	10

The Graduate Committee Chairman: Today's Social Theorist

When we went in the field on our intensive interviews, we were interested to know what concepts international rural sociologists were finding most useful in their professional work. It became apparent that many of the men were giving us the main concepts which were stressed by their major professors. They did not reflect the sociological schools of Europe or North America; rather, they reflected the frame of reference of their major professors. To obtain a more definite picture of the concepts they were using in designing research questions, we asked both the international practitioners and American professors to identify the ten concepts they had found most useful in their professional work. The diversity of concepts used by the international practitioners was matched by the diversity of the concepts by these professors (table 14).

One hundred and thirty concepts were mentioned by international practitioners. Of these, approximately two-thirds were mentioned by only one to three persons. American professors mentioned 106 concepts as most useful to them. Of these, more than two-thirds were mentioned by only one to three persons. Only four concepts were mentioned by as many as one-third of the American professors and only seven concepts by one-third or more of the international practitioners.

There was considerable overlap in the concepts most frequently mentioned by American professors and American-trained internationals. The 35 concepts mentioned by 10 percent or more of international rural sociologists included 20 of the 23 concepts mentioned by 10 percent or more of the American professors.

A comparison of those concepts on which American professors and international practitioners differed 5 or more percent indicated that the international practitioners placed relatively greater weight on social change concepts, whereas the American professors placed relatively greater weight on social systems and demographic concepts (table 15).

Table 14. **Concepts mentioned by 10 percent or more of international practitioners or American professors of rural sociology**

Concepts	Percent mentioning	
	International practitioners (N = 75)	American professors of rural sociology (N = 75)
Status, role	44	67
Values	39	24
Social change	36	20
Social system	34	43
Community	34	19
Culture	34	39
Socialization	33	17
Norms	31	28
Stratification	31	46
Social structure	30	26
Diffusion	28	9
Attitudes	25	9
Leadership	21	9
Innovation	18	3
Social group	18	24
Social class, caste	16	19
Communication	16	17
Reference group	15	15
Family–familism	15	1
Interaction	15	13
Institution	13	15
Mobility	13	22
Differentiation	13	2
Social organization	13	28
Power, authority, influence	13	30
Personality	13	6
Anomia	12	9
Function–dysfunction	12	7
Adoption	12	0
Society	12	1
Community development	12	0
Motivation	12	1
Folkways and mores	10	0
Conflict	10	13
Primary group	10	0
Systemic linkage	1	11
Bureaucracy	7	11
Position	1	11

Table 15. **Relative emphasis of international practitioners and American professors of rural sociology on concepts found most useful**

Degree of emphasis in terms of difference between percentage of mentioned times	Concepts emphasized more by international practitioners	Concepts emphasized more by American rural sociology professors
20–24 percent difference		Status–role
15–19 percent difference	Diffusion Social change Innovation Socialization Attitudes Values Community	Social organization Stratification Power, authority, influence
10–14 percent difference	Family–familism Leadership Community development Adoption Motivation Differentiation Society Primary group Folkways and mores	Systemic linkage Position
5–9 percent difference	Personality Function–dysfunction	Social system Mobility Social group Culture

Diversity of Sociologists Looked to for Ideas

The diversity of concepts was matched by the diversity of sociologists whose ideas were considered: (1) most meaningful and most helpful, (2) most helpful in giving insight and understanding, (3) most helpful in designing research, and (4) most helpful in analyzing problems. American professors responded to all four of the above questions and international practitioners to the last three. Thus, an American professor might mention the same person four times and an international practitioner could mention the same person three times.

American professors mentioned 165 sociologists of whom 78 percent were mentioned one to four times and thus could have been accounted for by a single person. International practitioners mentioned 153 different sociologists, of whom 82 percent were mentioned from one to three times and thus could have been accounted for by a single respondent.

Only six sociologists received as much as 10 percent of the mentions they could have received from inter-

national practitioners and by American professors and none received more than two-fifths of the mentions they could have received. The data clearly indicate that rural sociologists look to many different sociologists for their ideas.

With few exceptions, those mentioned most often had written or coauthored one or more books, thus giving their ideas visibility in print. The vast majority of those mentioned many times are living sociologists and almost all are currently active in teaching and writing. All the questions called attention to useful ideas. It is noteworthy but probably not surprising that those mentioned most frequently in the list are men associated more with theory and ideas than with research methodology.

Rural Sociologists — Research Producers but not Theory Producers

Rural sociologists in general are high research producers, moderate to low theory consumers, and almost not at all theory producers. Ask a man how much research he has done and he may mention five or six studies. Ask a man how much theory he has produced and he asks you, "What do you mean? Do you mean theory courses I have taken or theory I have used in my research?" Rural sociologists teach and stress the methods and cardinal rules of research, but we do not teach the methods and cardinal rules of theory construction. As researchers, rural sociologists learn not to generalize beyond the data. They do not learn with equal force that theory begins with concepts and propositions which are more general than operationalized research indexes.

This lack of emphasis on theory development might not be so serious if theory development were being well cared for elsewhere. Such, however, is not the case. One of the things we learned in our international interviews is that the United States has become the center for leadership in sociology. Our colleagues in many nations around the world look to North America for leadership in theory, and we perform with less than excellence in providing it.

Some Limitations of Social Theory Based on Generalizations Drawn from a Subuniverse

In traveling around the world, one sees some societies in which the family and socialization are of central concern to sociologists, many countries which have major programs for economic development, many countries in which education is the major focus, some countries in which control by contending political groups representing economic classes holds the center of the stage, and some countries in which different religious groups could not live together and so have separated and created separate states. In the United States, the focus on subuniverses has taken the form of specializations and a focus on the sociology of the professions is one such subuniverse.

These subuniverses are broad functional categories representing a broad division of labor. Each subuniverse performs different tasks. Because of the different tasks the concepts which are most relevant differ, and generalizations based on these concepts produce different theoretical propositions (figure 2). This presents no problem as long as the propositions are applied to the subuniverse. When, however, these theories become generalized as theories of society or of social action, the part may not be representative of the whole. Social action and interaction cannot be studied in a vacuum, and within any one subuniverse one may study all types of social interaction and may focus on social persons, social organizations, or social action situations. The problem arises be-

Figure 2. **Beliefs, disbeliefs, social actions and interactions, and some of the subuniverses in which they occur.**

cause each major problem has a small cluster of factors which are particularly relevant to it, and this small relevant cluster is not representative of the whole. Thus, we find those working in economic areas concerned with resource development, resource allocation, economic opportunity, and adoption of economic practices. Those who work in the political arena are much more concerned with power, conflict, cooperation, and social control. Those who work in the religious sector are more concerned with reference group identification, beliefs, and values. Those who deal with families are ever aware of age and sex roles and of the processes of socialization. Those who deal specifically with socialization through formal education are likely to be particularly aware of individual differences in ability, motivation, conditioning, and in the attitudes and behavior of the people they are trying to change. Travel where national programs may focus heavily on one or two subuniverses calls attention to the theoretical confusion which can be generated when parts are mistaken for the whole, as for example, when theories which fit the economic or the political sector are used to explain society.

On the other hand, too much concentration on the dissimilarities can lead to a different set of theoretical problems. When each subuniverse is seen as essentially unique, we begin to conceptualize a field of sociology for each subuniverse. Titles such as political sociology, the sociology of religion, the sociology of health, the sociology of the arts, the sociology of economic development, and educational sociology imply an essentially separate sociology for each subuniverse, and the subuniverses increase as specialization increases.

To generalize from the part as though it represented the whole poses a problem of theoretical distortion; to treat each subuniverse as a whole (and independent of others) splinters the field, bars communication across subuniverses, and stands in the way of the development of more general propositions which can be applied to all the subuniverses. Although this phenomenon is observed in some degree in other societies, it finds its broadest application in the United States where specialization and the number of sociologists is far greater than in any other nation.

Different Methods: the Producers of Different Theories

We have called attention to the diversity of research methods in use among sociologists. These different methods develop different concepts which fit the techniques and also the assumptions of the methodology. Generalization of these different concepts into larger class concepts and into general propositions based on them generates different theories. That which can be studied by one method constitutes only part of the field and a theory based on findings generated by a single method is likely to neglect important dimensions which may be added by utilization of other methods.

Different Units of Analysis: the Originators of Different Theories

That different units of analysis generate different theories is certainly not a new observation. It is sometimes important to call attention to that which seems obvious, however, and particularly so because on the world scene the units of analysis which seem to invite study differ. In one society everything seems to be organized around the family. In another, villages and families are both seen as central spheres of influence. Modern industrial societies focus attention on numerous specialized subuniverses; their different units lead to different theoretical formulations.

The Development of International Rural Sociology and International Rural Sociologists

International Rural Sociologists not Presently Being Trained

Our interviews and surveys have led us to the conclusion that almost none of the students who come to the United States for training are in any real sense international sociologists. They are nationals who take some graduate training in sociology in another society. Similarly, United States citizens who spend time in other countries are more binational than international. (Strictly speaking, *binational* is by definition *international*. However, to be international in a true sense, one should have experience in a number of different societies so as to be in command of a wide range of cross-culturally validated concepts and propositions.) Few persons have been in enough different societies and cultures long enough to have acquired the basic characteristics of internationalism. We need some truly international sociologists, and we need their input in graduate training programs.

No International Rural Sociology at Present

Sociology is a label under which many men do many different things. Its outer boundaries are perhaps more clear than its central core, but these also are very obscure and vague. The bulk of its literature, both in journals and books, consists of nontransferable, substantive data about particular nations. Middle-range, general propositions which are highly transferable are conspicuous by the paucity of their number. The variation in conceptualization and the wide variety of those looked to for ideas testifies to the lack of consensus among its professionals. It is not that international sociology is impossible but that it has not been developed. It is not that international sociologists could not be trained, only that they have not been trained. Both tasks invite a professional society to respond to a challenge which goes far beyond reading research papers to one another in professional meetings.

Some Attitudes toward Training

When this study was being designed, we had an implicit hypothesis that practitioners in the field would be in a good position to be experienced judges and could tell us what the problems, strengths, and weaknesses of their training were. Irving Sanders warned us, on the basis of Ford evaluation experience, that this was not the case. When we began interviewing in the field, it became evident that the men in the field could not be good judges nor tell us what the problems are. They felt that their training was very good; it was the best they ever had. It became clear that a man could not evaluate because he had nothing with which to compare; no doubt he had rationalized in some degree, also. We did find, however, where we could hypothesize a problem and ask about it in rather specific terms, that the man in the field was in a good position to be a good reactor. Included in the questionnaire were several questions which touched on some of the stated criticisms of training. Answers indicate that both current graduate students and international practitioners were fairly favorable toward American training on these questions, with current graduate students a little less favorable than the international practitioners (table 16).

When asked what adjustments they had made to make courses more useful to their needs, they reported frequently of doing the things they could do by themselves and as being much less likely to follow a course of action which involved other persons, either other students or the professor (table 17).

Table 16. **Opinions of international practitioners and graduate students on selected statements concerning their experiences related to American courses**

Selected statements	Very much agree	Somewhat agree	Don't know	Somewhat disagree	Very much disagree	N
	Percent					
"The courses were generally related to the kinds of problems you were going to face in your occupational role."						
Current graduate students	42	41	3	12	2	84
International practitioners	46	36	–	15	3	73
"The courses were interesting, but they were dealt with at such a sophisticated level as to make them of limited value in practical application."						
Current graduate students	7	31	5	32	25	84
International practitioners	3	26	1	38	32	74
"The contents of the courses are in general commonsensical, and you find yourself often asking, "What is new in this?"						
Current graduate students	7	14	5	32	42	85
International practitioners	1	13	6	36	44	72
"Most of the courses are repetitious of each other."						
Current graduate students	4	24	9	31	32	84
International practitioners	3	14	1	23	59	73
"Your background did not prepare you well enough to benefit from the courses."						
Current graduate students	1	17	4	30	48	83
International practitioners	1	16	1	29	53	74
"You did not get a chance to take those courses which you should have taken."						
Current graduate students	11	19	4	22	44	83
International practitioners	8	19	4	26	43	74

Table 17. **Responses of current graduate students and international practitioners to the question, "What are you doing or did you do to make your courses more useful for your needs?"**

Response categories	Very often	Occasionally	Never	N
	Percent			
"Seek out the instructors for further discussion on themes related to your interest."				
Current graduate students ...	28	65	7	78
International practitioners ...	27	59	14	71
"Try constantly to relate the class materials to problems in countries where you want to work."				
Current graduate students ...	64	35	1	81
International practitioners ...	80	17	3	74
"Try to relate reading materials to problems in countries where you want to work while writing term papers."				
Current graduate students ...	67	26	7	82
International practitioners ...	77	19	4	70
"Organize informal bull sessions with students from foreign and culturally related areas and interested American students to discuss practical implications of course materials."				
Current graduate students ...	21	45	34	80
International practitioners ...	27	53	20	71
"Share your concern for application of the materials you receive in course work with sponsoring agencies, and interested personnel in non-American countries."				
Current graduate students ...	10	32	58	76
International practitioners ...				

Language difficulties, course load, lack of practical experience, lack of background in sociology, and lack of mathematics all presented some problems to a sizable proportion of students from other societies and cultures (table 18). Of these five, language difficulties and the lack of mathematics were students' greatest handicaps.

When asked what they would change in their training, most students felt that it was all right as it was. The exceptions were among international practitioners, who recommended relaxing the language requirements, and among current graduate students who would simplify the comprehensive examinations (table 19).

Table 18. **Opinions of current graduate students and international practitioners on degree of handicap faced in selected areas during training**

Selected areas	Great handicap	Some handicap	None at all	N
	Percent			
English language difficulty:				
Current graduate students	17	26	57	53
International practitioners	13	36	51	75
Too much course load:				
Current graduate students	4	36	60	52
International practitioners	3	35	62	71
Insufficient practical experience during training:				
Current graduate students	10	23	67	52
International practitioners	5	38	57	74
Lack of background in sociology:				
Current graduate students	6	35	59	54
Lack in mathematics:				
Current graduate students	17	36	47	53

Table 19. **Responses by current graduate students and international practitioners to the question "Would you change the present requirements for doctoral training in Sociology/Rural Sociology?"**

Response categories	OK as is	Would relax	Would demand more	Can't say	N
	Percent				
Qualifications for admission:					
Current graduate students	67	6	11	16	84
International practitioners	65	11	13	11	74
Foreign language requirements:					
Current graduate students	51	35	8	6	84
International practitioners	32	43	18	7	74
Course requirements:					
Current graduate students	51	35	8	6	83
International practitioners	69	9	12	10	74
Residence requirements:					
Current graduate students	63	17	3	17	83
International practitioners	57	21	4	18	72
Comprehensive examination:					
Current graduate students	41	24	4	31	83
International practitioners	66	16	6	12	73
Dissertation:					
Current graduate students	67	6	5	22	83
International practitioners	68	7	16	9	74

American professors disagree with each other on what changes should be made in the research training for non-Americans; half of them believe that research training should be more applied; the other half disagree (table 20).

In the case of greatest agreement, two-thirds think training should be more general, whereas one-third think it should not. By comparison, one-third think it should be more rigorous, whereas two-thirds think it should not.

Table 20. **Opinions of American rural sociology professors regarding research training of students from other cultures who take advanced degrees in sociology in comparison with American sociologists training to work in the United States**

Research training	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	N
	Percent				
Should be more closely applied	9	41	32	18	62
Should be in relation to calculators, etc.	11	30	46	13	63
Should be more rigorous	16	19	54	11	63
Should be more general	6	26	47	21	62

Chapter 3. A Profile of International Practitioners

This chapter describes the characteristics of the international practitioners. This profile material utilizes both our interview field notes and the mail questionnaire data. The questionnaire data are presented in tabular form with a minimum of interpretation. The interview data are presented in the form of three case histories. This chapter introduces the second major concern of the study, namely rural sociology as an international career.

Selected Demographic and Social Characteristics

As table 21 shows, the vast majority of the international practitioners (78.7 percent) were between 31 and 49 years old. Most of them (89.3 percent) were males.

Table 21. **International practitioners, by age**

Age	Percent (N = 75)
30	8.0
31–39	44.0
40–49	34.7
50+	10.6
No response	2.7
	100.0

As would be expected in a normal population in any and particularly a traditional society, most of these (81.3 percent) were married. Thus, we are dealing with a category of persons who in sex and marital characteristics were those to whom in traditional societies a relatively high degree of respect and responsibility would be ascribed. However, they lack in one important quality, namely age, since most of them are younger than 50 years old.

The sizes of their households (table 22), were not typical of the large, extended families usually found in traditional societies. Some shift had taken place in this characteristic toward the pattern more characteristic of urban-industrial societies, that is an increasing number of single households and a relative decrease in families of five or more persons.

A similar change was noticeable when we compared the educational levels attained by significant members of the respondents' households

Table 22. **Size of international practitioners' households**

Number	Percent (N = 75)
1	10.4
2–4	48.2
5 or more	38.8
No response	2.6
	100.0

Table 23. **Educational levels attained by significant members in the households of the international practitioners**

Educational level attained	Significant members in household			
	Respondent	Father	Mother	Wife
	Percent (N = 75)			
Graduate degree	100.0	6.7	0.0	22.7
College degree/some graduate work	0.0	10.6	2.7	21.3
High school/some college work	0.0	22.6	21.3	30.7
Some high school	0.0	16.0	12.0	0.0
No high school	0.0	30.7	45.3	2.7
No response	0.0	13.4	18.7	22.6
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

(table 23). As a matter of fact, a careful examination of table 23 revealed a number of significant factors that testified to two characteristics of the respondents: how they differed from their parental generation and the degree to which they were atypical of their societies.

All traditional societies are characterized by a widespread lack of formal education. This condition has led to the characterization of these societies as nonliterate, meaning that a vast majority of the populace did not know how to read or write. Under such circumstances, the evidence presented in table 23 revealed the international practitioners and their families as atypical of their societies. Undoubtedly, the respondents themselves would be classed as part of a small minority of the intellectual elite in their respective societies.

All the male respondents and 22.7 percent of their wives held graduate degrees, whereas only 6.7 percent of their fathers and none of their mothers did so. Also, 30.7 percent of their fathers and 45.3 percent of their mothers had less than high school education. The corresponding figure for their wives was only about 3 percent. Also, nearly 50 percent of the wives were reported as working. These figures indicated a high degree of intergenerational social mobility on the part of the respondents as indexed by formal education.

An index other than education of social mobility is occupation. Table 24 shows that whereas only 36 percent of the respondents' fathers could be classified as having had high-ranking occupations while the respondents were growing up, *all* of the respondents now pursue high-ranking occupations. Of course, a comparable occupational mobility did not exist in these traditional societies as a whole, and through this fact, once again, the respondents were characterized as atypical of their societies. This situation was no surprise, but a fact to be noted.

Table 24. **Occupations of international practitioners and their fathers**

	Practitioners (N = 75)	Fathers (N = 75)
High (major executive, owner of minor/major business, teaching, professional) ...	100.0	36.0
Low	0.0	46.6
No response	0.0	17.4
	100.0	100.0

To summarize: our sample of international practitioners was largely male, married, and highly socially mobile. In terms of the ascriptive criteria of age, they formed the subordinate group in terms of authority and decision-making power. Also, in terms of socioeconomic standing, they should be judged as belonging to the upper half of the society.

Educational and Occupational History

Although a detailed history either in education or occupational terms cannot be presented here with the help of the available data, the following presentation drew upon two sources of information: information gathered through the self-administered instrument, and knowledge gained through personal interviews, the latter information being presented in the form of three case studies.

Table 25 shows that whereas almost all of the respondents (96 percent) had thought of going to America at one time or another, the majority (68 percent) had entertained such thoughts only after receiving their undergraduate degrees. The single major factor (51 percent) in creating this desire had been contact with American citizens, including missionaries, teachers, and technical aid personnel. Next in influence came friends who had been

Table 25. **Period when international practitioners thought of going to United States**

	Percent (N = 75)
After high school but before undergraduate degree	12.0
Between undergraduate and graduate degree	36.0
After graduate degree and only a year or so before going to United States	32.0
Other	16.0
No response	4.0
	100.0

to the States. Personal reading and influence of fellow-citizen teachers trained in America ranked third. It is of special interest that American movies seem to have played only a minor part in bringing about this desire (table 26).

Once the desire to go to the United States was generated, the respondents report having taken a number of steps to realize it. The two leading steps, far more significant in rank order than the rest, were getting in touch with selected American universities and studying harder (in the case of those still students) to win scholarships (table 27).

Although contact with American citizens was first in rank order (50.7 percent, table 26) among sources producing the desire to go to America, the same ranked third (25 percent, table 27) as a step toward realizing the desire. This perhaps indicates a certain quality in these individuals who get their higher education abroad, especially in the United States. Had they been more typical of their societies (traditional, person-person oriented, etc.), they would probably have followed up their initial contacts with persons who first created the desire to go to the United States. The fact that most of them did not do so but took the step of directly approaching certain universities in the United States shows to some degree the nontraditional (achievement-oriented, formal, self-dependent, etc.) qualities of the international practitioners. The point we want to stress here is that these respondents represent that sector of their societies that has already moved in its commitment toward a modern (urban) society with its emphasis on merit,

Table 26. **Rank order of source of international practitioners' desire to go to United States**

	Percent of respondents (N = 75)
Contact with American citizens (missionaries, teachers, technical aid personnel)	50.7
Friends who studied or are studying in United States	41.3
Own reading	34.7
Teachers (own countrymen trained in United States)	30.7
Immediate family who had studied in United States	13.3
American movies	10.7

Table 27. **Rank order of steps taken by international practitioners to get to United States**

	Percent of respondents (N = 75)
Began contacting American educational institutions	52
Began to study harder to win scholarships	44
Sought opportunities to contact Americans in own land	25
Began contacting kinfolk or friends already in America	19
Began reading about America	17

individual achievement, and efficiency. Whereas these qualities facilitated their getting to America (or some urban-industrial society) more easily, the same qualities were likely to act as negative elements in their post-training relocation in home countries and in job satisfactions.

Only a small minority (11 percent) reported having had a chance to go to some country other than the United States for higher studies. Sixty-four percent of the respondents had considered universities other than those in which they finally registered. The choice of the particular university did not seem to have been influenced by any single major consideration. Prestige of the institution, reputation of the department, and special programs offered in a given institution all seem to have had top priority (table 28). A major consideration seems to have been to get to the United States because nearly two-thirds (64 percent) agreed that it did not make much difference from which institutions they received their degrees. At least that was their view before going to America.

Table 28. **Rank order of factors influencing international practitioners' choice of a particular institution**

	Percent of respondents (N = 75)
Reputation of department	39
Special program of interest to the student ...	39
Prestige of institution ...	36
Reputation of a particular man or woman ..	25
Financial support from the institution	20

We are here dealing with a group of professional sociologists who had made various choices regarding their careers. Before considering these choices, let us take a quick look at their educational backgrounds. Although a vast majority of them (81 percent) received their M.A. degrees and over half of them (57 percent) received their Ph.D. degrees in America, two-thirds of them (65 percent) hold no graduate degree from institutions in their home countries. Considering that in most of the traditional societies from which these international practitioners came an undergraduate degree represents 14 years of formal education, it is fair to say that nearly two-thirds of the respondents admitted to an American graduate degree program have had a good deal less formal education (both in number of years of schooling and quality of education) than their American counterparts. Most of them, however, have had some practical experience which the American counterparts might or might not have lacked.

What about their academic preparation before coming to America? Only 12 percent reported sociology and 17 percent other social sciences as their major in home countries (table 29). Well over half of them (61.3 percent) reported no majors at all. This is confusing and probably represents a combination of those who did not complete an undergraduate degree program and those who have had no major in

Table 29. **International practitioners' major areas of study before coming to United States (for a graduate degree in rural sociology)**

	Percent (N = 75)
Sociology	12.0
Other social sciences	17.3
Law	1.3
Medicine	0.0
Other majors	6.8
Does not apply	61.3
No response	1.3
	100.0

the American sense, mostly the latter. In any case, no more than 30 percent specifically mentioned any social science as their major area of study before coming to America.

Tables 30 and 31 reveal something about the reasons for choosing a professional career in rural sociology. Unquestionably, the overwhelming motivation was neither purely academic nor service-oriented, but occupational (table 31). Given the occupational motivation, a career in a teaching-research combination was far more preferred (68 percent) than either a community development extension career (45 percent) or a purely teaching career (33 percent). Career in government (14.7 percent) lagged far behind a career in teaching/research, which meant a place in a recognized university or similar institution of higher education.

Although this chapter is devoted to a description of the recruits and problems in the area of recruitment, brief mention might be made here of placement upon returning to home countries and present job satisfactions. More than half (59 percent) of the international practitioners have reported their present jobs as university positions, which theoretically ought to offer opportunities for teaching *and* research. Only half (55 percent) of them, however, have reported research performed and published. Actually, this should be judged as

Table 30. **International practitioners' reasons for undertaking graduate work in rural sociology**

Reasons	Most important	Middle group	Least important	No response	Total (N = 75)
Career in teaching	33.3	21.3	6.8	38.6	100.0
Career in teaching and research	68.0	4.0	6.7	21.3	100.0
Career in community and development	45.3	17.3	16.0	21.4	100.0
Career in government work	14.7	17.3	32.0	36.0	100.0
Because it was the only opportunity to go abroad	4.0	5.3	37.3	53.4	100.0

Table 31. **International practitioners' ranking of motivations of students from own country for seeking an advanced degree**

	Percent of motivation ranking				
	High	Medium	Low	No response	Total (N = 75)
Primarily occupational ..	68.0	16.0	2.7	13.3	100.0
Primarily academic	16.0	29.3	22.7	32.0	100.0
Primarily service	6.7	21.3	33.3	38.7	100.0

a high figure, considering the conditions in their home countries. Also, a high degree of satisfaction in their present jobs is reported (table 32). The major areas of dissatisfaction seem to be lack of proper work facilities (44 percent), finding more bureaucratic conditions than expected (42 percent), and inadequate salary in terms of respondents' style of living (38 percent). From these figures, one should conclude that purely in terms of individual career needs, more is being accomplished or fulfilled than would appear on the surface.

Table 32. **International practitioners' satisfaction in their present jobs**

	Percent (N = 75)
Highly satisfied; no change desired	36
Satisfied, but change desired	53
Dissatisfied, change sought	9
Very dissatisfied	1
No response	1
	100

Three Case Studies

As stated at the beginning of this chapter, we intend to supplement the profile of these international practitioners with three short case studies. It is needless to say that names and some inconsequential pieces of information have been changed in order to protect the identity of the individuals and institutions involved. The essential aspects of each case are true and derive from a combination of questionnaire and interview data.

Case One

José Fernandez is 45 years old, married, and has two children. He has been to America three times, twice as a student. His wife, a trained teacher, is an educated

woman and accompanied her husband to America on his second trip.

José was not an outstanding student before going to the United States. He wasn't dull but did not study hard. He always knew that one day he would go to the United States, for his father was a Christian with good church connections in America. Soon after graduating from college, José got a church-sponsored scholarship to study at a prominent university in the United States. This was his first trip. Before leaving for America, he did not know what to expect. He had only vague notions about American education and institutions, obtained largely through missionaries and teachers. But he had always wanted to go to America, a scholarship was available, and so he went without worrying too much about the pros and cons of what he was doing.

Although it was an exciting experience, on the whole he was not satisfied. He was single and somewhat homesick. He did not know how to plan his time and limited money, and had no clear idea what job would be available for him upon return. Nonetheless, he made the best use of his opportunity, received an M.S. degree, and returned home.

Upon returning home, he got a job in a church school. He had to teach, do some extension work, and a little research. He was bothered by the lack of facilities for research, but his real concern was to get back to America to complete his Ph.D. He knew his church college was not particularly interested in his doing this. In any case, he wanted to be independent of church obligations. He had seen the United States and understood how things were done there, and he knew there were other ways to get back and to work on his Ph.D. So he concentrated on cultivating friendships with American technical aid personnel and continued his friendships with some of his professors in the United States. Also, he worked hard at his job, and spent all his free time in collecting data on extension work done by his college. All these endeavors paid off after a wait of almost ten years.

He met by chance the understanding head of a wealthy foundation who offered to help him with funds for his doctoral studies. José wanted to return to the same university where he had studied for his M.S. His old professors were glad to have him back because this time it was quite clear what José wanted to do. So he returned to his old university, this time with his wife, and worked on his Ph.D. He was also fortunate in having brought with him from the home country data for his doctoral dissertation. Losing no time in such things as getting oriented to the culture of the society and the educational system, both of which he had become well acquainted with during his first trip, and having no distractions by virtue of having his family with him, José completed all the work for the Ph.D. degree in minimum time.

Quite satisfied with his second experience in the United States, he and his family returned home, but he was again placed in his old job — to him a highly unsatisfactory situation. He knew exactly what he

wanted to do: as a fully qualified professional he wanted to teach graduate students and do quality research. Besides, his financial needs were greater now, with the future of his children on his mind. His wife was qualified to teach, but the place where they lived offered little opportunity for her to work for money. The institution to which José returned had not planned for these eventualities and had only faint ideas about these needs arising out of his getting professional education. The institution expected José to understand its limitations and to be satisfied with what was available. After all, the church had sponsored him to go to the United States in the first instance. It is easy to see how José's legitimate needs as he saw them and the legitimate restrictions the limited resources of the institution placed upon his activities produced a stalemate. The two legitimacies with their separate origins in different sets of presuppositions did not jibe.

The situation was resolved by José's finding a better-paid job in a government institution in a larger city, providing for his children's education and his wife's need to teach. However, José's professional needs are still frustrated because the new institution does not provide him with the kind of teaching and research facilities he desires. The institution is an important nation-building agency but largely devoted to training of high talent manpower for national administration. His services are valued but in an auxiliary sense. There are no graduate students in sociology and he has no chance of preparing young men to become sociologists. He has some limited opportunity to do applied research and he seems to be doing an excellent job with available resources. But this institution does not comprise a university setting, which is what he is seeking.

There is an important university in the city where he is now located, and there is a flourishing department of sociology at that university. His participation on a full- or part-time basis is obstructed chiefly by two factors, however: the department's attitude toward American rural sociology, and José's unwillingness to undergo financial loss. Both factors need further elaboration.

As in most old, established, more prestigious universities, this one's department of sociology takes a qualitative (nonquantitative) approach to the study of human behavior. The approach taken by American sociology and particularly rural sociology is looked upon as too quantitative to be meaningful. Thus, in the event of José's getting an appointment, he would be scrutinized and challenged more than he would be willing to tolerate. This situation is aggravated by José's own conviction that practically no one in that department knows anything about research! As should be obvious, it is a case of the clash of methodological approaches, and neither side is all right or all wrong.

If José should receive an offer at the university and were willing to undergo the unpleasant scrutiny, there would be other factors to contend with. He knows he stands to lose in salary, the university's

salaries being lower than those for comparable positions in the institute. Also, the movement through the ranks at the university is slower than at the institute. A further discouraging element is that there is no knowing whether he will have the same research resources at the university as he has now, although it is certain that he has now less teaching responsibility and more research money than he could reasonably expect at the university. He is thus kept isolated from the university community in a professional sense.

One would think that individuals caught up in this kind of situation, but living in geographic proximity, would try to get together for mutual support and professional growth. For one reason or another, such does not seem to be happening. In the metropolis where José was living at the time of our interview, there were at least three other rural sociologists, formally trained as such in departments of rural sociology in America. It caused surprise when José told the interviewer that as far as he knew, he was the only rural sociologist in town. Transportation difficulties in a sprawling metropolis only partly explain this seeming ignorance.

José was enthusiastic about his sojourn in the United States, especially the second trip with his family to work on his Ph.D. Everything seemed to have worked well this time. He knew the United States quite well and also the university where he was going to do his work. He was acquainted with his professors and knew their expectations. He had come prepared to analyze data from his home country for his dissertation. Also, during his second visit he was financially better taken care of, relaxed because of his family's being with him, and more mature in an overall sense in his capacity to deal with the American world view.

On the whole, he had great praise for the training he received while in the United States, for the friendly treatment he received from his professors, for the atmosphere of intellectual dialogue that took place among the graduate students, and for the excellent working conditions, including a first-rate library. He was slightly critical of the unevenness of teaching excellence in certain courses and seminars. He also felt that students like himself should and could have been used for classroom teaching, which would have increased their experience and also enriched the learning experience of American students. His greatest criticism concerned a lack of intellectual partnership between scholars like himself and their American professors, even when these professors undertook research in the students' countries. His criticism was based on two points: First, a lack of such partnership betrayed to some extent certain methodological principles. For example, assuming these professionals had better knowledge of their societies than their one-time professors had (and this is a safe assumption), the professors' failure to seek a partnership in research tended to detract from the quality of research findings. Second, such a partnership is likely to benefit the "old" student by making accessible to him research funds and other resources that he badly needs.

Case Two

Akbar Sheikh is nearly 35 and married. He is very devoted to his profession and his family. He loves his students and makes them work very hard, but he does not expect from them what he does not from himself. He was born in a middle-class family and the thought of going to the United States had never occurred to him until he was almost through graduate school in his own country. His family had no undue influence, and he himself would not stand for anything but being treated on merit.

He had a brilliant academic record. Being quite fluent in a number of languages, he tried his hand at the mass media and was quite successful. He entered the local graduate school after a period of years of service in journalism. He performed brilliantly at the graduate level, even better than at the undergraduate level, winning university honors. He spent a year teaching at his own university after completing his first graduate degree. During that period he did field work, collecting data on a number of projects. It was during this period that he won a scholarship to go to the United States through an international exchange program.

He had never been abroad and was a little shaky about intellectual demands in the United States. He was well briefed, by Americans and his countrymen who had studied here, on the United States, its society, its culture, its educational system, and other characteristics, before he started. He also underwent a program of "foreign student orientation" upon arrival in the United States.

To summarize, Akbar had a brilliant academic program behind him, some experience in teaching and research in his own university, adequate financial support; perhaps he was a little shy in interpersonal relations but very aggressive when it came to academic duelling, a little less "westernized" than many of his fellow students at home but well versed in local idiom, and utterly committed to do his best for the good of his country.

He caught on quickly to the academic jargon of the American university, to which he had chosen to come, and which had admitted him because of his academic record. Actually, he was no stranger to the social science jargon, having been initiated into it by his teachers at home, some of whom had studied in the United States. He was unmarried but that did not seem to be a source of distraction for him. He had only one goal: to gain as much knowledge as possible, to finish his work as soon as possible, and to return home to help in the intellectual growth of his university. So he worked hard and long hours, with little rest and fewer distractions. His needs were simple and the money saved from his scholarship was spent in buying books. Clothes and other attractive products of the marketplace had little use for him. "Clothes I can have at home; books I must get here," he used to tell his friends and fellow students from his homeland.

He went through the system of an eastern university rapidly, and ob-

tained the M.A. and Ph.D. degrees in three years. His dissertation was based on the data he had brought with him. He took courses and seminars that emphasized sociology as a scientific discipline, not worrying too much about the applied aspects of rural sociology for community development and extension. His goal of fitting well within a university framework, with its broad intellectual needs, guided his selection of courses and seminar work.

Before leaving the United States he participated in professional meetings and visited other major centers for the discipline of sociology. Also, while in the United States he became a member of a number of professional societies. In other words, by inclination, training, and participation, he was a professional. Getting his Ph.D. was a means to his goal and not, as for many students from traditional societies, an end of scholarly pursuits. In three years he returned home to participate fully as a member of a department of sociology of which rural sociology was a part. There was no isolation between general sociologists and rural sociologists at his university. This fortunate situation is partly due to the manner in which his department got established, rejecting doctrinaire positions and treating theories and methods as means to deal with sociological phenomena.

During this time, he has been drawn more and more into responsible positions within the university. This situation has not proved to be an unqualified blessing. The more he has been drawn into his university's affairs, the more he has taken policy positions demanding uniform standards to be used in evaluating faculty and students and a high standard of performance from them. Although Akbar is not especially articulate verbally, he is adept at expressing himself in gentle but firm action. He strongly feels the urge to help his nation emerge from its present economic and social conditions. Also, he is convinced that a solid basis for building a just nation exists in the world view of his people, contained in their religious ethics. He contends that minimum resources to build a strong and economically viable nation exist within the country. So, he is puzzled why his people and his colleagues at the university do not move faster toward the ends to which they are all seemingly committed. Yet he does not have the heart to blame them; he understands that they are victims of circumstances that have accumulated through centuries of exploitation and mismanagement. And he fully believes that his country will in course of time emerge as a strong and powerful nation, able not only to govern itself justly but also to take its rightful place in the community of nations fighting for justice. The Middle East has had a glorious past; greatness will return to it in the not too distant future, he feels.

One cannot talk with Akbar without soon coming to respect his sentiments and to a great extent agreeing with him. Although he is frustrated in many ways, he has learned to manage his frustrations without letting them run his life. One thing

is quite clear — his values are basically derived from within the context of his own culture. This situation gives him great strength to withstand the tremors of crisis situations. The things he learned in the United States he uses as means to his country's ends by making necessary adaptations. For example, although quite well trained in the methods of quantitative research, he is receptive to other approaches, such as the case study method, the historical method, and participant observation. He is, naturally, not equally skilled in all of them but he is not bound by any single approach.

Akbar was very appreciative of the training he received in the United States. He feels, however, that the training could be broadened to some extent, both in method and in theory courses. He blames the students more than the teachers for this lack of breadth. He recalled being allowed to take whatever seminars he wanted. He seemed to imply that students were not always sure of their goals and this made them less able to choose courses and seminars critically. After all, how can an academic advisor, especially if he is not well acquainted with the students' homeland conditions, be expected to make the right choices for the students? Akbar was strong in recommending that students from developing nations should not be allowed to linger on in the United States but should be prepared for their degrees in the minimum time possible and sent back home.

Case Three

Krishan Kumar is nearly 40 years old, happily married, and the father of five children. He has been to the United States several times, twice as a graduate student and with American foundation money. He is ambitious, hard-working, and is quite comfortable with bureaucratic operations — not because he admires the bureaucratic organization but because he has learned to recognize it as a necessary means of getting things done in a modern state.

Krishan had an excellent career as an undergraduate in an applied field. He then went on to do graduate work in his own home state in economics and did rather well. While employed as a research assistant to collect field data for a local bureau, he met a professor from the United States who was looking for village-level interviewers for a study of social change in rural India. The thought of having to spend long hours in a village did not appeal to Krishan, but he liked the American, and decided that working for him might have other benefits in the long run. While working for Professor West, Krishan became really interested in continuing his academic studies. Because of his training under Professor West and through Professor West's recommendation, he was awarded an American foundation fellowship to study in the United States. Not surprisingly, he wanted to go to Professor West's university and did. But for various reasons, including background preparation and experience,

he was admitted to study rural sociology, which was not Professor West's special field. Still, Krishan had learned to make the best use of whatever he got; he studied hard and received his master's degree, specializing, however, in applied areas, which did not help him much beyond his first assignment upon returning home.

Because of his American training, he moved up in the institution in which he had worked before going to America. The work was in agricultural extension. He worked hard, while looking around for more promising opportunities and keeping good relations with the various Americans he met. And the number of Americans who came through the big city where he lived were many. Some of them were his old professors or their friends. He interacted with them as often as possible.

By this time Professor West's work had ended, but a Dr. Wilson was beginning an ambitious project, and Krishan was well suited by training and personality to work for Dr. Wilson. Krishan and Dr. Wilson became close friends but soon Krishan left this assignment to take a responsible position in a government research institute. Krishan knew that it was not to his best interest to continue for long in projects such as Dr. Wilson's because these offered no job security even though they paid good salaries. But he and Dr. Wilson remained good friends, and Dr. Wilson later made it possible for Krishan to return to the United States to work for a Ph.D. degree.

In his new position in the research institute, Krishan found his American training in applied areas inadequate. For the most part he guided students' research but also was expected to design and carry out his own research. It was at this stage that he felt he needed more substantial training, especially in research methods. By this time he had job security in the research institute and was ready to return to the United States for more training and another degree. He knew he could get support from an American funding agency with Dr. Wilson's aid. The main question was where to go in the United States to get what he wanted. Around this time one of the professors under whom he had studied as a master's candidate, Professor Leonard, turned up in Krishan's city. They discussed at length Krishan's plans. Professor Leonard was frank and fair and advised Krishan not to return to his old school since it had given him what it had to offer in applied sociology, its strongest area. Thus, through Professor Leonard's influence, Krishan was almost immediately admitted to another, and equally good, school.

Soon Krishan was on his way to the United States again. He knew what he wanted. He had made good use of his earlier training in extension and related areas, and had had a great deal of practical experience. He now wanted more sophisticated research skills. He had collected data for his dissertation. He had admission and American funds and leave of absence from a tenured job.

On his arrival at the new campus, he was received well by his major professor, largely because of Professor Leonard's recommendation. Pro-

fessor Jones, his new major adviser, and Krishan together planned his entire program, avoiding duplication with his earlier training and concentrating on the areas of theory and methodology. He moved rapidly through the system, making satisfactory progress. At the end of his training, which was specialized and narrow but tailormade for his needs, he traveled around the United States for awhile, visiting other centers of rural sociological research. He also attended some professional meetings where he made many professional friends. Knowing the need back home, he bought some books and a few articles for home comfort, and returned home by the appointed time.

His position in the research institute has been upgraded because of his increased training and experience. He has opportunities for research and some graduate training, and although the graduate students at present are not majoring in rural sociology, that condition is expected to be remedied soon. He is planning more research with the institute staff, some of whom have been trained in the United States. Krishan also has hopes of doing team research with persons like Professors Leonard and Jones. In addition, he is looking around for more research opportunities and money. He is in a comfortable position, although he would not be adverse to a change, should a better position offer itself.

One of his real needs is to find a university position. He faces somewhat the same kind of problems that José encountered, although Krishan is better satisfied in his job than is José. Should he give up more research facilities and a better salary simply for prestige? On the other hand, would he not be serving more sociology students and be in contact with the more truly academic world if located in a university setting? Fortunately, he does not have to make up his mind as yet — not until a choice situation faces him. Meanwhile, he is happy in what he is doing, and knows he has a bright future within that institute.

Krishan is full of praise for the Americans he has met and the help and kindnesses received from them. He has the highest regard and appreciation for his American training. He holds the view that it is up to the students to use to their best advantage the opportunities offered by an American education. American education has, he admits, a number of inadequacies in terms of applying that training to needs of other countries, a situation which is inevitable because the United States is different from other countries. Adapting American training is where the student's initiative comes in. As illustration Krishan points out that his own success derives from the manner in which he was able to see his goals clearly and to adapt what he found in the States to suit his needs. His own work experience stood him in good stead when it came to deciding how to utilize the flexibility of the American graduate program to his best advantage. He thinks it best for students to write their theses and dissertations on data from their home countries, as he himself did; but it is more important to receive excellent training than simply to empha-

size data sources. He would recommend higher admission standards and more independent work for rural sociology graduate training.

Concluding Remarks on the Case Studies

Case studies are by their very nature nongeneralizable. They are neither typical nor altogether untypical of the population. But the case studies given here are of real people, three of the international practitioners now actively engaged in the development of rural sociology and in applying its findings to human growth in various parts of the globe. As such they seem to point out some issues not brought out by the statistical information presented earlier, issues relevant to a more complete consideration of the themes of this study. Thus, they too can be expected to have some bearing on the recommendations we want to make in the closing chapter of this report.

Chapter 4. International Careers, Work Environments, and International Centers

The three greatest influences on careers are work environments, occupational training, and individual aspirations.[14] In this chapter we examine in some detail relationships between respondents' careers and their work environments and how these can be enhanced for building an international discipline. Aspirations, recruitment, and training have already been examined.

Profiles

A brief reiteration of the profile of practitioners is helpful in putting their career patterns in perspective. Their modal age (44 percent) was between 31 and 39 years. The next greatest proportion (35 percent) was between the ages of 40 and 49 years. Thus one might say approximately 80 percent of the practitioner respondents were in the high productive professional years. Nevertheless, many of the respondents have a short professional lifetime as measured beyond the point of terminal training as compared to their American counterparts.

Thirteen percent had received their doctorate between the ages of 30 and 32; 15 percent between the ages of 33 to 35; and 23 percent after age 35. (Others had no doctorate or received it earlier, and a few did not respond.) In most cases the masters degree was received only a few years prior to the doctorate. In effect it may be said that although the rural sociology emphasis is relatively new in international areas, its practitioners had moved well into career positions before their terminal sociology education was completed.

The three largest categories in which the occupational background of practitioners' fathers most frequently falls are: farm ownership (21 percent), executive or large business management (15 percent), and professions other than teaching (12 percent). Other categories of the occupational backgrounds of fathers show a wide range. The education of fathers (table 23) parallels to a great extent the occupational rank. Over 45 percent of the mothers had no high school education and none had completed graduate work. By sharp contrast 20 percent of the wives had some college education, and 23 percent of the wives held a graduate degree.

To a considerable extent, on the basis of the above characteristics, the practitioners are members of a rising, professional, middle class. This fact was further illustrated when they gave their reasons for

undertaking graduate work in sociology (table 30). For most respondents the choice of work in rural sociology was voluntary; they had alternatives had they desired to opt for them.

Returning Home

The geographic distribution of high-talent manpower is a much labored subject. Notes of high distress are sounded by many when recent recipients of the doctoral degree prefer to remain in the United States rather than return to their home country or home culture. Questions are raised and expressed in value terms whenever brain drains are discussed. Within the United States questioning considerations are given to the migratory characteristics of scientists. Some data show that they are disproportionately trained in the Midwest and New England and that they disproportionately migrate to the Far West and to the Middle Atlantic States.[15]

The international practitioners were asked several specific questions concerning their situations upon returning home. Most of them reported few difficulties. More than 73 percent expressed very little difficulty in accepting colleagues who were not American-trained. Ninety percent believed that their training had given them real insight into their work. Eighty percent said that their superiors were sympathetic. Indeed, 75 percent indicated that their superiors appreciated their American-acquired skills. And 64 percent of those who returned had no strong desire to return to the United States.

In contrast to the above statements of generally positive adjustment upon returning home there were other statements of doubt and ambivalence. Forty-four percent expressed a desire for facilities similar to those with which they had worked in the United States. Salary and benefits were considered generally insufficient by 39 percent. Finally, some ambivalence was expressed concerning work within the local bureaucracies; 41 percent said they found the bureaucracy to be worse than they had anticipated.

When the "return home experience" was analyzed by nationality, it was widely reported that superiors tended to be sympathetic. The desire for the American facilities was most pronounced among Near Eastern, including Pakistan (70 percent), and Far Eastern (63 percent), respondents. The feeling that training offered no real insight was most often reported by Canadians (13 percent) and by Latin Americans (10 percent). Here it should be noted that these countries offer work in community and extension programs. American professors report less training in these applied areas.

Subtly reflected in the interviews was a feeling that the international practitioners were often treated at home as distinguished researchers and professors. Many were satisfied with their status in the universities

or in government positions. Even though their positions were often not high in the hierarchy, this would be expected in view of the recent completion of their American training. On the other hand, when the interviewees compared their position and work as sociologists in their home country with those of sociologists in the United States, they stressed inadequate facilities, inadequate support, and inadequate understanding. In several respects their struggle to establish the validity of rural sociology in the 1960's has many of the overtones of America's experience from the 1920's to the 1940's.[16]

Returning home for many sociologists who plan to emphasize work in rural subject areas carries with it the challenge of establishing a new intellectual field of endeavor. Many international practitioners return to nations that are caught up in the dynamics of modernization and/or development. Although sociology may indeed have much to offer in such social environments, it must often compete with other disciplines such as economics and demonstrate clearly its usefulness. In effect, the return is not to established positions from which one may operate but to the creating of new positions out of which the practitioner may operate as a sociologist.

Career Development Patterns

Career opportunities for sociologists in general and for sociologists interested in rural behavior patterns in particular are limited outside of America. Consequently what we turn to next is more the examination of the development of new occupational and career roles and less a study of a fully developed occupation within which career steps and stages are firmly established. Although the degree of development of rural sociology outside of America varies, in most cases it is a new rather than an old-line subject.

First Full-Time Position

Nearly half (49 percent) of the practitioners report that their first full-time position was in a university; 21 percent first worked in a general government position, 7 percent in agricultural extension, and 13 percent in other occupations. (Others did not respond.)

The type of duties for the first full-time position varied in a semiprofessional category. Most of the first positions required from some college training to a college degree. Often they were in research work, but under the direction of another person. The duties in these cases included data analysis and report writing. Many practitioners started their career in some form of public school teaching. Teaching was at the high school level, and frequently they were principals. Still other practitioners started as extension and community development workers. Extension and development work was most frequent in the Far East and in Latin America. Research work was

most frequent in India. High school teaching was reported with frequency in both India and Central America. Very few of the respondents started in business, industry, or other nonteaching professions.

The first position was held for an average of four years, but the range of variation was great.

Present Job

Approximately 71 percent of the practitioners are currently working in university positions, 9 percent in government agriculturally related positions, 8 percent in general government positions, and 3 percent in agricultural extension. The remaining 9 percent of the respondents reported positions in widely diverse areas. Even as sociology is predominantly an academic occupation in the United States, it is also predominantly an academic occupation outside of the United States as well. It was difficult to know how much of this academic sociology was caused by a lack of other positions and how much was a result of practitioner preference for positions in universities. On the surface, at least, the international practitioners stated a considerable preference for careers in university structures.

Most of the practitioners' time was devoted to teaching and the second largest proportion of time was devoted to research. Administration, community extension activities, off-campus lectures, formal study, and participation in government programs individually all constitute a small proportion of their time utilization (table 33). In the main even though rural sociology is an emergent career in many nations, it is tending to follow the lines of development experienced earlier in the United States.

Over 57 percent of the respondents indicated that in their current position freedom to exercise their own judgment was highly characteristic of their work environment (table 34). Forty-eight percent indicated that their status was recognized, and 44 percent indicated they had considerable opportunity to use their training. On the other hand, in contrast, 45 percent indicated that ease in keeping up with their field was only somewhat characteristic of their work environment and more than 26 percent indicated that this was not characteristic of their work environments. Similarly, only 41 percent responded that being well paid is somewhat characteristic of their place of work, whereas another 35 percent said that being well paid was not characteristic of their position.

When pay was analyzed by nationality, 50 percent of the Canadians report adequate remuneration and 50 percent of the Near Eastern sociologists report insufficient pay (table 35).

Practitioner occupational tasks were varied, but the most typical activity was teaching and research. The teaching was primarily for undergraduates and often for students who are not majoring in sociology. Much of the teaching included introductory courses, rural sociology, and research methods. Not infrequently rural sociologists also taught some agricultural economics and some extension-type courses.

Most of those who reported re-

Table 33. **Distribution of international practitioners by specified activities to which 11 percent or more of their time had been allocated since 1963**

Specified activities	Percent of international practitioners (N = 75)					
	11–20	21–30	31–40	41–50	51–61	61 plus
Teaching formal classes (including preparation of lecture, preparation and correction of examinations)	15	15	8	8	9	4
Individual discussions, supervision, and tutoring students	17	7	1	0	0	0
Designing, directing, and supervising research studies, analyzing data, and writing research reports	12	17	8	3	1	3
Administration, faculty, and professional committee work	15	1	4	0	3	0
Community development, extension, or public service	8	3	0	3	0	3
Public lectures and their preparation	0	1	0	0	0	1
Formal study	8	3	0	0	0	0
Administration of government programs	3	3	0	1	1	3

Table 34. **Characteristics of international practitioners' present positions**

	Very characteristic	Somewhat characteristic	Not characteristic	No response	Total
	Percent (N = 75)				
Well paid	19	41	35	5	100
Freedom to exercise professional judgment	57	29	11	3	100
Opportunities to use your training	44	39	13	4	100
Professional status is recognized	44	39	13	4	100
Easy to keep up with your field	25	45	27	3	100

Table 35. **Indication by international practitioners of their jobs being well paid, according to regions**

Regions	Very characteristic		Somewhat characteristic		Not characteristic	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Canada	4	50.0	2	25.0	0	0
Far East (China, Korea, Indonesia, Japan)	1	12.5	5	62.5	2	25.0
India	4	22.2	7	38.9	7	38.9
Latin America	4	13.3	12	40.0	12	40.0
Near East (incl. Pakistan)	1	10.0	4	40.0	5	50.0

search in combination with teaching indicated that the research was on rural subjects. A considerable number of respondents were in governmental research institutes, particularly in the Near and Far East. Some research was national in scope, including that reported by a few who were in census bureaus.

Several practitioners were directors of sizable extension programs, for example in Canada, Puerto Rico, and Taiwan. Home demonstration and 4-H Club work were reported. Three reported research with international agencies. A few reported full-time work with cooperatives and with national cooperative movements. Only one reported full-time consultant work. Several were full-time in higher university administration, and a few were department chairmen in addition to their teaching and research.

Most of the practitioners were in occupational roles which enabled them to fulfill closely their desire for graduate work in rural sociology. From the Near East (including Pakistan) 70 percent wanted teaching–research roles; from Latin America 57 percent wanted teaching–research; from India and the Far East 50 percent wanted teaching–research. Only in Canada was there a first preference (50 percent) for community extension work.

Mobilities

Extensive job mobility was not characteristic of the international practitioners. Nearly 27 percent reported only two positions, 19 percent reported only one position, 16 percent reported only three positions, 12 percent four positions, and another 12 percent five positions. The remaining 14 percent held still more positions. But considering the relatively few years since many of these practitioners had completed their training, their frequency of mobility is similar to that of professionals in

the United States. It is noteworthy that they had moved generally from government and agricultural extension positions into more traditional university positions when given the opportunity.

Examination of the large number of positions held between the first and the present position reveals that almost all of these respondents have had some extension experience. Frequently such extension work took the form of community development work. In addition to extension there were occupational experiences in vocational agriculture teaching, as agricultural technicians and farm managers, and in planning, social welfare, and home demonstration agent work. Very few practitioners reported intermediate occupations not closely related to agriculture.

Considerable differences were described between the first occupations, the intermediate occupations, the present occupations, and the occupations desired in the next five years. The situation is dichotomous: the practitioners tended to come from agriculture-related work and moved into traditional university positions, which raises some fundamental questions. Should rural sociology offer more training in the extension, cooperative, community development areas? Are these areas really outside the subject-matter area of rural sociology? Should extension and its fellow areas expand into more professional academic courses?

Responses to questions as to where practitioners would like to work in the next five years were particularly revealing. More than 81 percent want to be in universities, only 11 percent in government agencies, and only 5 percent with private agencies. Only two failed to respond to this question.

Those who preferred to be in a university desired their work to be a combination of teaching and research (72 percent). Eight percent looked forward to a combination extension/community development position in a university. Five percent preferred a full-time research position in a university. Only 1 percent aspired to a full-time teaching career in a university. Again, it was clear that as rural sociology developed outside of the United States, the preference would be for a pattern similar to its development within the United States.

For those who indicated a preference for work with a government agency, nearly 27 percent wished to be in some applied research; 13 percent aspired to a position in research administration; and 9 percent wanted a basic-research position. The remaining few said they wanted positions in government agencies.

Mobility across national lines for professional sociological employment appears to be limited. The Interamerican Institute of Agricultural Sciences, headquartered in Costa Rica, has moved a considerable number of Latin American and Anglo-American sociologists across national lines for professional assignments. Similarly, the Food and Agricultural Organization in Rome has contributed to some cross-national mobility. Academic institutions and foundations have been mechanisms of some mobility among Canada,

Mexico, and the United States. Various agencies have moved Indian and American sociologists on temporary assignments into Africa. But among the practitioners who are nationals outside of the United States, there is relatively little cross-national mobility.

Performance and Success

Performance and success in occupational work can be measured from at least two points of view, namely the job satisfaction of the individual practitioner and the quantitative-qualitative output of work. Respondents were asked to address themselves to both of these issues.

At the outset the practitioners were asked to report what they consider to be their primary professional strengths. The largest single proportion (28 percent) reported this to be teaching rural sociology. Next followed 25 percent who believed their strength lay in research, and another 19 percent who cited community development work. Other areas of professional strength were miscellaneously distributed over theory, diffusion, methods, and so forth. In some contrast to the practitioners' desire to participate in research positions was their greater expression of competency in teaching rural sociology. In overview, however, they believe that their competencies lay in the areas in which they had the greatest career interest.

Job Satisfaction

When asked if they were satisfied with their job placement in terms of opportunities to apply their training, 64 percent responded positively, 28 percent responded negatively, and 8 percent did not respond at all. The overwhelming majority were indeed satisfied with their work upon departure from the United States. As reported earlier, their status rewards were generally high — particularly in view of the fact that many of the practitioners were in the early stages of their careers.

For those who were dissatisfied in their current occupations 20 percent had attempted to move to a new position, and 40 percent reported that they were successful in making such a move. For those few who were unable to move to a new position the following reasons were given: 9 percent did not have sufficient and/or the right kind of influence and for 5 percent the right kind of job did not exist.

When asked to respond concerning the satisfaction with their present job, 36 percent indicated that they were very well satisfied and had no desire to change. Fifty-three percent, on the other hand, indicated that they were more or less satisfied but would consider a change. Only 9 percent indicated mild dissatisfaction and thereby a considerable desire to change. Only 1 percent said that they were very dissatisfied with their current position. In the main one continues to view these respondents as international pioneers for sociology in the

Table 36. **International practitioner's degree of satisfaction by type of occupation**

	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	More or less satisfied
	Percent		
Government administration	37.5	62.5	0
Research administration	22.2	77.8	0
Associate and full professor	42.9	46.4	10.7
Instructors and assistant professor ...	18.8	62.5	18.7

rural areas. And as pioneers they express a high degree of satisfaction with their positions along with considerable articulation of the existing limitations and frustrations.

Job satisfaction varied some by the type of occupation. University professors and associate professors were the most satisfied (table 36). Government researchers were most frequently more or less satisfied. The most dissatisfied were the instructors and assistant professors (19 percent).

By nationality, those most satisfied with their jobs were Latin Americans (77 percent). More than 60 percent of the Far Eastern and Indian practitioners were satisfied with their position. By contrast only 50 percent of both the Canadian and Near Eastern practitioners were satisfied with their jobs.

Professional Contacts

A major characteristic of professional-occupational development is a community of scholars and/or practitioners. Accordingly these practitioners were asked to indicate what their continuing contacts are with their major professors since ending their graduate study. The largest single response was committee assignments (23 percent). Eleven percent reported involvement in professional lecturing, and 9 percent are involved in joint research with their major professor. In any case professional contacts with the major professor, and/or with other American professors, was remarkably little. Most of them tended to have little more than a personal correspondence (79 percent) with the major professor and other American faculty. Receipt of a departmental newsletter and visits from departmental faculty were also mentioned.

In terms of the contacts with American professors it was clear both from the interviews and the questionnaires that little idea production and little internationalizing of the subject matter of rural sociology resulted from these international ties. The contacts were so minimal as to suggest something less than a real community of international rural sociological scholars. Personal friendships exceeded professionally productive intellectual colleagueship ties.

Interview responses revealed complaints concerning insufficient communication between and among pro-

fessional sociologists within a common country, particularly in such large nations as Brazil and India. Often physical distances were too great and travel funds too insufficient to make it possible for scholars to meet in symposiums and seminars for professional growth and intellectual development of their subject matter. This problem was cited as an even more critical limiting factor in developing sociological strengths between countries outside of North America. Both in Asia and in Latin America there were disquieting reports of insufficient knowledge and contact with professional colleagues in neighboring countries within a common cultural situation.

It was reported that insufficient effort was being made to disseminate research findings from American studies in international areas. International practitioners indicated that some United States libraries contained more empirical information on their areas than did their own local libraries.

The international community of rural sociology remained largely fragmented. The two World Congresses of Rural Sociology had been well attended and enthusiastically received, and many respondents recommended that these Congresses be held more often. The desire to increase the strength of the community of sociologists was accordingly illustrated. Similarly in several nations attempts are currently being made to establish national associations of sociologists. All of these are more than embryonic efforts at strengthening the contacts and community characteristics of sociology.

Research

Slightly over half of the respondents (55 percent) indicated that they had an opportunity to do research and to publish. This report was to a great extent consistent with the expressed career desire to engage in research.

There was considerably less opportunity to do research and publish the findings in Latin America than in other areas. Seventy-five percent of the Canadians and the Far Eastern respondents, respectively, indicated an opportunity to do research and publish it. Similarly 70 percent of the Near Eastern and 67 percent of the Indian respondents reported research-publishing opportunities. Only 30 percent of the Latin American respondents reported such opportunities.

Practitioners were asked to indicate the types of research which they believed to be most suitable and essential to sociology in their country at this time. Descriptive survey research was cited as the most appropriate by most of the respondents. This was followed closely by an indication that more case studies were needed. Hypothesis-testing research, theory-formulating research, and experimental research were all indicated as less appropriate currently.

Teaching

Practitioners were asked to indicate which courses they had taught. Forty-three percent had taught rural sociology, 36 percent general sociology, 27 percent methodology, 20 percent community, and 12 percent

social change. Other sociology courses had been taught but in each case by less than 10 percent of the practitioners. In effect, the array of courses most frequently taught revealed again the moving of the American model of empirical sociology to the international work environments of these practitioners. They tended to teach the core courses of sociology with a skewness to the applied, community, extension, and developmental courses. There was little orientation toward theory and social philosophy.

The teaching of sociology not only followed an American empirical pattern but also heavily relied on books by American scholars, largely based on American data. This situation illustrated, more clearly than most would like to admit, the point made by a few that rural sociology currently was American-dominated. Hence the need was repeatedly underscored for the internationalizing of the data, concepts, theory, and methods of sociology as well as the internationalizing of the training for career practitioners.

Publication

More than half of the international practitioners indicated that they have had some opportunity for publication. Seventy-five percent of the Canadians and the Far Easterners, respectively, said they had published. Similarly 70 percent of the Near Easterners and 67 percent of the Indians reported publishing. By contrast, only 30 percent of the Latin Americans reported publishing. Latin Americans cited as reasons for failure to publish the lack of funds, lack of time, and lack of libraries. Unfortunately, most of the international publications in rural sociology remained obscure — indeed fugitive. To this extent these practitioners indicated that the community of sociology must be strengthened by making available sociological publications from different parts of the world to sociologists in all other parts of the world.

Both the quality and quantity of much of the publishing of international sociological publications is highly relevant in this context. The following analysis indicated that some practitioners had extensive lists of publications. The selected lists of titles illustrated the breadth of subject area considered in the publications. No effort is being made to provide here an exhaustive list of publications. Instead, we illustrate the range and type of publication by cultural area.

The most frequent publication subjects were: leadership (11 items), descriptive and social historical studies (11 items), community (10 items), social change (5 items), communication (5 items), family (4 items), formal organization (4 items), and social structures (4 items). Other publication topics included: agricultural reform, concepts and theory, demography, innovation, rural sociology course books, and values. A wide range of other topics were cited, but only a few times each.

By nationality area, descriptive social–historical studies were reported most frequently in Latin America, and leadership studies most

frequently in India. Community studies were most prevalent in the Far East.

Many studies were book length, although most were shorter publications. In practically all cases the publishers were local. The publications were difficult to obtain. They were given almost no cross-national and multilingual promotion. As a result, much of this publishing remained inaccessible to the international community of rural sociologists. The serious business of promoting the development of an international body of rural sociological knowledge can be enhanced by these potentially important publications.

Limitations

When international practitioners were asked what factors they thought most limited the development of rural sociology, they mentioned insufficient positions for qualified sociologists. They indicated that more institutional support and more social space must be provided for rural sociology internationally. When they reflected on their training, they indicated that most of it was relevant. They suggested few changes in courses and quality of training in the United States. More than half of the respondents disagreed that most of their American training was not applicable to conditions where they were then working. Considerably more than half disagreed that the American training covered too many courses and was not sufficiently concentrated. Seventy percent disagreed that the American training was too theoretical. Most respondents disagreed sharply that the American academic degrees did not give status and insure confidence in their home countries. Similarly most disagreed that degrees from American universities were not recognized in their home countries. Yet in spite of this strong support in general for their course of training, their own use of concepts and methodologies learned in the United States was severely limited (see chapter 2). So although they tended to be laudatory in general about their training experiences in the United States, much of the subject of their training was little used by them. Consequently there were limitations in terms of validating the principles of sociology developed on American data by testing their appropriateness internationally.

International Rural Sociology Centers

Both practitioners and students strongly affirmed the desirability of international centers for research and training in rural sociology. The idea of and need for centers were clear both in the interviews and in the questionnaires (table 37).

The need for training and re-

Table 37. **International practitioners' and graduate students' responses to the statement: "In order to internationalize (or denationalize) sociology concepts it is desirable to have a few advanced training centers, perhaps two in each major continental area, where advanced scholars and students from multiple international areas might simultaneously research and study one or two major concepts, e.g., stratification or development, with international data."**

	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	No response
	Percent			
Practitioners (N = 75)	65.3	9.3	4.1	21.3
Students (N = 85)	76.5	14.1	5.9	3.5

search centers was brought to focus in Antonio Arce's report on communications research in Latin America.[17] At the Rural Sociological Society's Development Committee meeting at the University of Puerto Rico in 1969 Eugene Havens asserted that "one of the most important questions that should be addressed concerns the possible establishment of international graduate training centers." He explained in detail the need for centers. Pablo Vasquez emphasized at the same Development Committee meeting the great need for advanced training centers for rural sociology in Latin America. This need for centers was also discussed in the Agricultural Development Council Workshop (1968).

In terms of center organization both practitioners and students believe there should be accreditation by the world's major universities now offering social science doctorates (table 38).

It was clear that the centers were viewed as major new dimensions of universities — they might be defined as "forward-looking sociological experiment stations." Whether physically on or off a campus, they should be new components in university structures and demonstrate new levels of interuniversity cooperation.

The practitioners and graduate students agreed that these centers

Table 38. **International practitioners' and graduate students' responses to the statement: "The centers as field stations, would be accredited by the world's major universities now offering social science doctorates."**

	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	No response
	Percent			
Practitioners (N = 75)	61.3	12.0	6.7	20.0
Students (N = 85)	64.3	21.3	9.5	4.9

should serve as data banks and international resources (table 39). The libraries and data banks might well be specially selected collections that are part of larger university libraries, and the reading rooms in the center's physical quarters should stock only current or new material. Certainly the center library should be staffed with competent librarians responsible to the center's director. Appropriate acquisitions budgeting is essential.

A clear mandate is needed for funding sufficient to enable both students and faculty to visit several international locations to conduct research in specialized subject areas. For example, if one were researching stratification phenomena, the field work would not be limited to the vicinity of the centers but could be done in far away countries so that both culture and nationality would become variables to be held constant. International practitioners and graduate students expressed great support for such funding (table 40).

There was wide acceptance of the notion that faculties of the center should be tenured by "home" universities or agencies, and "on loan" or on temporary assignments. Suggested duration for faculty assignments ranged from two to six years. The responses are shown in table 41.

Another center faculty pattern was approved by the practitioners and

Table 39. **Practitioners' and graduate students' responses to the statement: "The centers would have libraries that would constitute truly international data banks in their subject areas."**

	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	No response
	Percent			
Practitioners (N = 75)	72.1	5.3	1.3	21.3
Students (N = 85)	84.7	7.1	4.7	3.5

Table 40. **Agreement and disagreement of international practitioners with the statement: "Students and faculties at the centers would be able to visit several international locations to do research in the specialized area — e.g., if one were researching a problem in stratification, it would not be done just in India, the Philippines, Colombia, or United States, but in several countries at the same time so that the findings would have nationalism held constant."**

	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	No response
	Percent			
Practitioners (N = 75)	61.3	6.7	9.3	22.7
Students (N = 85)	71.8	12.9	10.6	4.7

Table 41. **Agreement and disagreement with the statement: "The center faculties would be tenured in a 'home' university and be on temporary assignment, perhaps from 2 to 6 years at the centers."**

	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	No response
	Percent			
Practitioners (N = 75)	57.3	20.1	1.3	21.3
Students (N = 85)	58.9	23.5	12.9	4.7

students, whereby professors from "home" universities would be given short-term assignments — for six months or less (table 42). The short-term appointments would allow experts to give a few highly focused lectures or seminars, to participate in research writing, or to engage in limited research.

Although the centers would be dominated by sociologists, it was agreed that as a matter of policy they should support interdisciplinary inquiry, and, whenever appropriate, faculty and students from other disciplines should be invited to participate in their activities on specified-term assignments. More students than practitioners supported an interdisciplinary emphasis (table 43).

Table 42. **Agreement or disagreement with the statement: "Other faculty from the 'home' universities research or lecture at the centers on short-term assignments of 6 months or less."**

	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	No response
	Percent			
Practitioners (N = 75)	60.1	13.3	5.3	21.3
Students (N = 85)	56.5	27.0	10.6	5.9

Table 43. **"Although the centers would offer training in sociology they should encourage interdisciplinary research and be organized to facilitate it by inviting selected faculty from other social sciences."**

	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	No response
	Percent			
Practitioners (N = 75)	69.3	6.7	1.3	22.7
Students (N = 85)	85.9	7.0	2.4	4.7

Awarding of degrees by centers is a point of conjecture and minimal support. Both practitioners and students concur in this doubt (table 44).

Another area of doubt in organization of the centers concerns a degree curriculum requirement for a systematically rotated period of work at each center. It was suggested that a student spend from 6 months to a year in one center and then transfer to another and so on until a four-to-six-year plan of Ph.D. degree study is completed. Practitioners' support for this plan of study was slightly greater than that by students, although in both instances the extent of support was small (table 45).

Practitioners and students both strongly endorsed the need for sociology centers. Most students more strongly supported the center components. Only for short-term faculty assignments and rotation of work at different centers did practitioner support exceed student support.

We have portrayed in this chapter the career-development patterns of the international practitioners and their performance records upon returning home. The portrayal revealed that a fair amount of their deficiencies in post-training performance could have been avoided or at least minimized if more attention had been paid to the essential international character of the discipline. This situation led us to consider at some length the usefulness of a number of international training centers — international in their faculty, students, library resources, and concepts. As the data clearly show, the international practitioners and current graduate students were basically in support of the center idea.

Table 44. **International practitioners and graduate students agreeing or disagreeing with the idea of the centers' offering degrees.**

	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	No response
	Percent			
Practitioners (N = 75)	20.0	29.3	28.0	22.7
Students (N = 85)	31.8	30.6	32.9	4.7

Table 45. **Extent of support by practitioners and graduate students for a rotated period of work at a number of centers before awarding degrees**

	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	No response
	Percent			
Practitioners (N = 75)	36.0	18.7	25.3	20.0
Students (N = 85)	25.9	31.8	38.8	3.5

Chapter 5. Toward Internationalizing Rural Sociology — A Historical Note

The data presented, provided by international practitioners, American professors, and current graduate students in American universities, bear upon some of the major problems in training truly international rural sociologists, including a lack of cross-culturally tested concepts and propositions and suitable institutional facilities. Since we are primarily studying the development of rural sociology as a scientific discipline, we are only in part concerned with training facilities. Yet by no means do we imply that these concerns are either new in the profession or unique to us. Quite the contrary. These concerns have been expressed before by many colleagues and on many occasions, including the A/D/C workshops which gave us a good start. It seems at this point only fitting to summarize briefly previous efforts aimed at widening the international horizon of rural sociology. This brief chapter is, then, a review of the more important past events directed toward the same concerns as is this research report.

The Internationalized Community of Rural Sociology

In rural sociology notions of professional communities[18] and communities of scholars are both functional and substantive. Professional communities work across national boundaries. Interaction among professional rural sociologists from many nations must be facilitated. The strength and proliferation of international meetings and congresses are indexes of professional community strength. It is clear, too, as exchange professorships and cooperative research shows, that cross-national community interaction among members of professional sociology is becoming increasingly easy. Some evidence indeed suggests that there is more community among rural sociologists across national boundaries than among rural sociologists in any one society.

Multicultural International Congresses

International congresses appear to be widespread among professions in the twentieth century. In most cases this form of professional organization is functional to the stimulating, building, and disseminating of a body of knowledge. In social sciences in general, and in sociology in particular, international congresses are of primary importance. Since the subject matter of sociology is cross-national in character, it is essential that research scientists in this field have access to thoughtful and critical presentations of research data from many societies. Moreover, it is essential that researchers and authors from the different areas have opportunities for intensive and extensive

personal face-to-face discussions of their data and findings.

International congresses are an introductory form of stimulation and exchange of sociological ideas and findings. They give the participants a broad-ranging introduction to many topics. Congresses, however, do not provide the necessary environment for intensive discussions, examination of issues, study of other related data, and so forth. Naturally, at congresses there are no libraries of past studies but only book displays of new publications. There is not sufficient time for lengthy seminar or workshop discussions. In recognition of such limitations, recent congresses have been organized primarily around a central theme. Several workshops which may meet several times for a total of four to eight hours of discussion, are organized around subtopics within a theme. Still such workshops are not backstopped with resource materials or sufficient time for serious discussion and study. Also many experts knowledgeable on the subject may not be in attendance at the congress, much less at the workshops. The primary role of the congress is to introduce new ideas to colleagues who will discuss and criticize them from the perspectives of different national origins and backgrounds.

The leading international congress for sociologists is the International Sociological Association organized in 1950. No proceedings of the first congress were published but proceedings were published for the subsequent c o n g r e s s e s. The dates, themes, and locations of the congresses are as follows:

1950 (no theme), Zurich

1953 (no theme), Liege

1956 *P r o b l e m s of Social Change in the Twentieth Century*, Amsterdam

1959 *Society and Sociological Knowledge*, Milan and Stresa

1962 *The S o c i o l o g i s t s, the Policy Makers, and the Public*, Washington, D.C.

1966 Plenary session themes: *Unity and Diversity in Sociology; Sociology of International Relations: Cross-National Research*, Evian, France.

The next International Sociological Association meeting will be in Bulgaria in 1970.

The themes of these congresses reflect the major concerns of sociology. To a great degree they are oriented toward the relevance of sociological knowledge to societal needs. Not all of the themes, however, reflect concerns of rural sociology. Moreover, the key participants on these programs, with few exceptions, are not rural sociologists. Given the long-standing interest of some sociologists in human relations as related to rural phenomena, it is natural for a special congress to operate in this subarea.

The only international association for rural sociologists is the World Congress for Rural Sociology. This congress came into being through the work of the Committee for International Cooperation in Rural Sociology and met for the first time in

Dijon, France in August 1964. The theme of the congress was *The Impact of Changes in Agriculture on Society in Developed and Developing Countries*. There were some 300 participants from 50 countries. *Sociologia Ruralis* 4, (Numbers 3–4, 1964) contains the proceedings of this congress.

The Committee for International Cooperation consisted of Professor E. W. Hofstee, The Netherlands, chairman; O. F. Larson, United States, vice-chairman; H. F. Kaufman, United States, secretary-treasurer; H. Kötter, Federal Republic of Germany, associate secretary-treasurer; H. E. Bracey, United Kingdom; and R. A. Polson, United States.

The Second World Congress for Rural Sociology met in Enschede, The Netherlands in August, 1968. The theme of this congress was *Development and Rural Social Structure*. Present were more than 400 participants from 56 countries. This congress was organized by: E. W. Hofstee, The Netherlands; Herbert Kötter, Federal Republic of Germany; Alvin L. Bertrand, United States; and A. K. Constandse, secretary, The Netherlands. The Third World Congress for Rural Sociology will meet in 1970 under the chairmanship of Alvin L. Bertrand, United States.

Another international meeting of major importance is the Congress of the European Society for Rural Sociology which in 1968 met in its eighth annual session. This congress draws wide participation from European countries and relies heavily on financial support from institutions within participating nations so that each congress tends to have a distinct flavor of the country in which it meets.

Another multinational organization is the F.A.O.'s Working Party on Rural Sociological Problems in Europe. This is an outgrowth of the European Conference on Rural Life in 1956.[19]

Regional, Multinational Meetings

The first Working Party on Rural Sociological Problems in Europe met in Paris, August 1964, with 15 member countries represented. The purpose of the working party is to coordinate rural sociological research in Europe. It also aims at bringing about a closer working relationship among rural sociologists and other social and technical scientists working on problems of rural life.

The third session of the working party met in Wageningen, The Netherlands, August 12–15, 1968.[20] The subjects considered at this session were: (1) different forms of part-time farming, research project; (2) social implications of the mechanization of agriculture, research project; (3) social implications of industrialization in rural areas; (4) social aspects of group action in agriculture, research project; (5) social situation of farm women in the Federal Republic of Germany, research project; (6) international training in rural sociology, a special report of the Taylor–Reeder–Mangalam project; (7) economic and social development of rural populations in the Mediterranean mountain regions; (8) social implications of

rural area development and planning; and (9) bibliography of rural migration for selected developing countries.

In Latin America the Congresso Nacional de Sociologia originated in Mexico and so is national in origin but multinational in participation and interests. The congress was organized in 1950 and has met annually since then. In recent meetings of the congress there have been participants from most of Latin America and North America, and some from Europe. This congress has directly and indirectly devoted considerable attention to questions of great interest to rural sociology, specifically in the congress devoted to agrarian reform. Also an impressive number of sociologists interested in the study of rural life have participated in these congresses.

The Rural Sociological Society, organized in 1937, is often identified as American, meaning the United States of America. The title, however, correctly does not include the word American. By design and policy the Rural Sociological Society welcomes membership and participation by sociologists from all nations. Its founders were, indeed, a small group of American professors concerned originally with rural social problems in the United States. Intellectually the society always has been inclusive in its orientation. *The Directory: Rural Sociological Society, 1967,* recorded a membership of nearly 900, including almost 200 from outside of the United States of America. The international membership has continued to increase. At the Society's 1968 meeting financial arrangements were approved which would make membership of those outside the United States easier in terms of subscription rates.

Sociologists from more than 50 different countries hold membership in the Rural Sociological Society. Countries with five or more members are: Australia, Brazil, Canada, Colombia, Holland, India, Italy, Kenya, Korea, Mexico, Nigeria, Peru, and the Philippines. Canada and Mexico have 49 and 10 members respectively. Geographical proximity encourages direct participation in these countries. Accordingly major committees in the Rural Sociological Society include members from Canada, Mexico, Puerto Rico, and Costa Rica. Participation in these committees by internationals is greatly handicapped by a lack of formal support for travel to committee meetings. Membership on these committees is thus limited to those whose offices and positions can provide for travel to meetings.

An examination of recent annual programs of the Rural Sociological Society reveals a considerable international interest. Since 1960 titles of papers presented include: *Relationship of Education and Communication to Social and Economic Conditions on Small Farms in Two Municipios of Southern Brazil,* by Lloyd R. Bostian and Fernando C. Oliveira, Universidade do Rio Grande do Sul; *Some Characteristics of Persons Seeking Training in a Low-Income Rural Area of Eastern Canada,* by Desmond M. Connor, St. Francis Xavier University, Nova Scotia, Canada; *Interrelation-*

ships Between Changes in Tenure and Changes in Farmers' Personalities in a Developing Society, by Orlando Fals-Borda, Universidad de Colombia; *Dimensions of Leadership Structure among the "Precarios" of San Lorenzo, Peru*, by Glenn C. McCann, North Carolina State University; *Community Development as a Tool for Societal Development*, by A. Eugene Havens, University of Wisconsin; *Is There a Crisis of Rising Expectations? A Study of Members of a Mexican Ejido*, by Quentin Jenkins, Marciel Walker, and Alvin L. Bertrand; *Adaptation of Rural Colombian Migrant Families to the Urban Society of Bogota*, by William L. Flinn, University of Wisconsin; *Folk Medicine, Natural Cures, and Peasantry in Russia*, Walter C. McKain, University of Connecticut; *Design and Application of Rural Sociological Research in Developing Countries: Jamaica, Northern Nigeria, and Ghana*, by Helen Abell; *The India Community Development Program*, by Charles P. Loomis; *Adaptation of New Farm Practices in Mexico*, by Abdo Magdub M., Instituto Nacional de Investigaciones Agricolas, Mexico; *Community Development Programs in Latin America*, by T. Lynn Smith; *A Cross-Cultural Level of Living Scale*, by John C. Belcher, University of Georgia; *Community Differentiation and Its Relation to Community Readiness for Change: Selections from Philippine Villages*, by Isao Fujimoto; *A Comparative Study of Adoption Models: India and the United States*, by Gurcharn S. Basran, University of Saskatchewan; *Social and Economic Trends in Latin American Modernization*, by Olen Leonard, United States Department of Agriculture; *Modernization of Brazilian Agriculture: A Study of Subsistence Farmers and Salaried Farm Workers*, by James Converse and Helcio Ulhoa Sarriava, University of Wisconsin; and *Caste Structure and Agricultural Development: A Case Study of Two Villages in Uttar Pradesh, India*, by Satadal Dasgupta, Mississippi State University. International program participants are often nationals from far away places present in the United States at the time of the meetings, but also they are frequently American students and professors who have been abroad for research and teaching.

In sum, concerning international meetings, the point is reiterated that their function is introductory. They are limited to broad consideration of issues rather than an examination of critical issues in depth. Even given this limitation, only Europe, North America, and Central America appear to have anything approaching adequate international meeting mechanisms. The organizations mentioned above serve vital functions; yet although they encourage worldwide participation, because of insufficient support for travel, they are in point of fact largely limited to serving sociologists in the geographical area of the meeting.

A major need in rural sociology is the provision of institutional support for more scholars to participate in the World Congress of Rural Sociology and in the several international congresses. Related also is

the immediate need for multinational congresses in Africa, the Near East, the Far East, and South America.

Worldwide Publication-Dissemination Mechanisms

Neither sociology nor rural sociology has printing presses or foundation support specifically dedicated to a worldwide service. Furthermore there is no effective worldwide clearing house or abstracting service for sociology and even less so for rural sociology. Finally, and even more critical, there are no effective worldwide dissemination mechanisms for those various types of publications which do exist.

Appropriate publication and dissemination support is, according to the respondents in this study, a clear need for the building of a sound and relevant body of sociological knowledge.

Journals Emphasizing Rural Sociological Subjects

Only two journals, ***Rural Sociology*** and ***Sociologia Ruralis,*** are primarily designed to publish rural sociology articles. The former, founded in 1936, was first published by Louisiana State University and over the years has rotated among several land-grant universities in the United States that support rural sociological research. Its Editorial Review Board includes no one who resides outside the United States. Manuscripts are accepted from scholars the world over, but most authors of published articles are from the United States. Articles dealing with research from all areas of the world are published, but most concern the United States. The language of the journal is English, which is true also of abstracts of the articles. In conception *Rural Sociology* may be international, but in its organization and content it is predominantly unicultural or North American. Every editor has been an American professor.

Sociologia Ruralis is the official journal for the European Society for Rural Sociology. It was first published in 1960. Supporting editors for this journal are from England, France, and Germany. The languages of the journal are English, French, and German. Articles are published in only one language, but summaries are published in all three languages. The articles deal with all parts of the world, but they are written mainly by European scholars reporting European data.

Only North America and Europe can really be said to have journals that focus on rural sociology subjects.

There are other national or otherwise highly localized journals dealing in part with rural sociology subjects. Many of their articles, however, are not by rural sociologists, and many of the subjects may be in the area of economics or anthropology but with rural sociological relevance. The following selected list of journals and articles illustrates this type of publication:

Revista Interamericana de Ciencias Sociales (published by the

Pan American Union) since the 1960's has printed rural-sociology-related articles such as: *El Sociólogo en el Desarrollo Agricola,* by A. R. Mosher; *La Reforma Agraria en America Latina Ciertas Characteristicas Culturales, Sociales y Economicos,* by Daniel Alleger; and *Receptividad a los Ideas Nuevas y Exodo Rural en una Zona de Pequenas Fincas Agricolas de Rio Grande del Sur,* by Frederick C. Fliegel and Fernando C. Oliveira.

Latin American Research Review which originated in the mid-1960's has published articles of interest to rural sociologists, such as *Land Reform Studies,* by Richard P. Schaedel.

Guatemala Indigena printed in Spanish in Guatemala publishes articles of interest to rural sociologists. Examples are: *Aspectos Demograficos de la Poblacion Indigena de Guatemala,* by Jorge Arias B.; *La Communidad en la America Latina,* by Richard N. Adams; and *El Analfabetismo en Guatemala,* by Victor Manuel Valverde. These articles are more anthropological or general sociological than rural sociological, however.

Current Sociology, published in England with UNESCO support, has brought out specific materials concerning rural sociology, as, for example, the volume entitled *Rural Sociology South-East Asia: Trend Reports and Bibliographies* (1959). This issue was devoted specifically to Malaya, the Philippines, and Indonesia.

The Philippine Sociological Review has published numerous articles of an anthro-sociological type of interest to some rural sociologists. For example, *Animism in the Rice Ritual of Leyte and Sanar,* by R. Arens; *Economic Functions of the Child in the Rural Philippines,* E. Nurge; and *Rural Development and the Philippine Community School,* I. Tupas. ***The Silliman Journal*** (Philippines) also gives some focus on rural sociology, as illustrated by: *Leadership in a Rural Community,* A. P. Pal; and *The Influence of Isolation on the Acceptance of Technological Changes in the Dumaguete City Trade Area,* by R. A. Polson and A. P. Pal.

In Czechoslovakia ***Sociologie a Historie Zemedelstvi*** is published twice a year and contains articles and studies concerning research in sociology and the history of agriculture. In Poland the ***Annals of Rural Sociology*** (translated title) has been published since 1963; it reports research findings and discusses research methodologies. The ***Irish Journal of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology*** was first published in 1967 by An Foras Talúntais (The Agricultural Institute) in Dublin and is published twice a year. Since 1963, ***Sociologija Sela*** (Journal of Rural Sociology) has been published quarterly in Yugoslavia. It emphasizes changes in the countryside, industrial development in rural areas, and studies of rural population trends. Of long standing in France is ***Revue Etudes Rurales*** which focuses on history, geography, sociology, and economics as related to rural areas. The ***World Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology Abstracts*** (WAERSA) was started in 1964. Publication of this

abstract is supported by the Commonwealth Agricultural Bureau, University of Oxford.

A major multinational publication of relevance here is ***America Latina: The Regional Social Sciences Journal in Latin America.*** This important journal has been published in Spanish, Portuguese, and English regularly since 1958. It is printed quarterly in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil by the Latin American Center for Research in the Social Sciences, under the auspices of UNESCO. Articles of rural sociology subject matter are included, but they are understandably a distinct minority. The journal's mission is broadly social science.

The Latin American Center for Research in the Social Sciences also publishes a bimonthly bibliographical bulletin, ***Bibliografia.*** This is an important publication, but its coverage is far from complete. ***Bibliografia*** has special entries for "Sociologia" and "Sociologia Rural y Urbana" and as with ***America Latina*** its focus is not rural sociology but social science in general.

The ***International Social Science Journal,*** a quarterly published by the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization since 1958, includes articles of interest to students of rural sociology. Again, however, the rural sociology subjects comprise a minority since the journal's responsibilities are far broader in scope. A journal ***Rural Africana*** has been published at Michigan State University since 1967 and contains numerous articles of interest to rural sociologists, but the subject of the journal again is social science in general. Other journals that occasionally publish articles of rural sociological interest are: ***Caribbean Studies*** (Puerto Rico), ***Journal of International Affairs*** (United States), ***Revista de Ciencias Sociales*** (Puerto Rico), ***Revista Latinoamericana de Sociologia*** (Argentina), ***Social and Economic Studies*** (Jamaica, West Indies), ***Sociologia*** (Brazil), ***Estadistica*** (Washington, D.C.), ***International Journal of Comparative Sociology,*** and ***South Asia Social Science Abstract*** (UNESCO).

Books, Monographs, and Other Publications

Internationally there is no pattern of support for rural sociology books or monographs. Twice the Rural Sociological Society attempted to establish a monograph series. One monograph was published—Charles J. Galpin's *My Drift Into Rural Sociology* (La. State Univ. Press, Baton Rouge, Rur. Sociol. Mono. 1, 1938), but the series never materialized beyond this. In 1966 the Rural Sociological Society publication committee met in Chicago and formulated plans for a monograph series, but nothing has yet been published.

Rural sociology monographs and books are published by widely diverse publishers. Practically every major commercial press in the United States has brought out one or more books on rural sociology. University presses have published material on this subject; examples are: Alvin L. Bertrand (editor), *Rural Land Tenure in the United*

States (La. State Univ. Press, Baton Rouge, 1962); George Beal *et al., Social Action and Interaction in Planning* (Iowa State Univ. Press, Ames, 1966), and James H. Copp (editor), *Our Changing Rural Society* (Iowa State Univ. Press, published under the auspices of the Rural Sociology Society, 1964). In Venezuela the Universidad del Zulia published T. Lynn Smith's *Sociologia Rural.* Local regional presses publish monographs such as Eneida Avila's *Looking into Panama* (Impresora Panama, 1963). In Korea, Seoul National University publishes monographs as, for example, Byung Hyon Chong's *An Analysis of the Family Structure of Farm Households and the Agricultural Labor in the Korean Paddy Field Area* (1967). In Recife, Brazil, the Ministerio da Educacao e Cultura published *As Migracoes Para O Recife, Caracterizacão Social,* by Levy Cruz (1961). The Agricultural Development Council, with the College of Agriculture, Seoul National University, published the *Proceedings of Sociological Research Methods Workshop* (1967). Other publications in the field include: Pedro F. Hernandez Ornelas, *Politicas Demograficas y Factores Socioculturales,* (Pan American Union, memo, Wash., D.C., 1966); Antonio M. Arce, *Sociologia y Desarrollo Rural* (Inst. Interamer. Cien. Agr. OEA, Turrialba, 1961); Manuel Diégues Júnior, *Establecimientos Rurales en América Latina* (Univ. Buenos Aires, 1967)— published in Brazil in Portuguese in 1963; Daniel Vidart, *La Vida Rural Uruguaya* (Minis. Ganaderiá y Agr., Dept. Sociol. Rur., Montevideo, Pub. 1, 1955); T. Lynn Smith, *Brazil: People and Institutions,* rev. ed., (La. State Univ. Press, Baton Rouge, 1954).

The most stable publication support for rural sociological research in the United States has been the bulletins of state agricultural experiment stations. Although these are not well circulated, for many years they have been indexed in the *Agricultural Index* and are now included in the *Bibliography of Agriculture.* Until 1966, a Bulletin Review section was included in *Rural Sociology.* Despite these efforts, the prestige of agricultural experiment station publications remains low among sociologists because they are geared too highly to the needs of agricultural production and too little to social science needs.

International Rural Sociology Libraries

The major rural sociology library collections are in the United States. The principal ones are those at Cornell University, Louisiana State University, Michigan State University, University of Missouri, University of Minnesota, Pennsylvania State University, Washington State University, and University of Wisconsin.

In Europe, there are notable rural sociology library collections at the Agricultural University in the Netherlands and at the Agricultural

University in Norway. In Latin America, the libraries with substantial holdings in rural sociology are at the Inter-American Institute for Agricultural Sciences in Turrialba, Costa Rica, and in Rio de Janeiro at the Latin American Center for Research in the Social Sciences. In Asia, there are rural sociology library collections at the University of the Philippines College of Agriculture, Seoul National University, and the Indian Agricultural Research Institute, Delhi.

Altogether, international libraries in rural sociology are conspicuous by their absence. Most of those that do exist are insufficiently funded, inadequately housed, and understaffed.

The foregoing discussion points out what opportunities rural sociologists from different countries have for exchanging ideas in international settings and what facilities presently exist on which a cross-culturally valid social science discipline can be built. Obviously both opportunities and facilities are limited, although the need for them has been felt for many years by scholars in many countries. Thus, this chapter provides the historical setting for the recommendations that follow.

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Chapter 6. Recommendations

The following pages contain a series of recommendations, set forth in a "broad brush" style to stimulate study and discussion. The specific details of implementation can be variously worked out after the recommendations are individually refined. Indeed, it would be inconsistent and unrealistic to expect full discussion of recommendations if full details of their implementation are set forth now. In most cases each recommendation can stand alone or two or more can be combined into a larger program. Many are intended to be catalytic. The proposal for international graduate centers is more in the nature of a prototype.

Most of these recommendations are designed to accelerate the development of rural sociology in places where it is currently insufficiently developed. They are proposed on an experimental basis for a specific number of years, after which period they can be absorbed into national universities or agencies as rural sociology strength reaches a viable operating level in these locations.

These recommendations are aimed at improving graduate training and internationalizing rural sociology. Of course, we view the American rural sociologists and universities as part of the "international community" of rural sociology. But much of the emphasis is placed on developing, in the short run, rural sociology outside of the United States. Yet it is expected that the American universities will become stronger and more effective as centers of both research and training through this internationalizing process. Moreover, internationals are expected to be welcomed and encouraged to come to the United States.

Intercultural Transferability of Data and Training

To overcome the problem of low intercultural transferability of rural sociological data and training, we make the following four recommendations:

1. ***That International Rural Sociology Graduate Centers be established in each major cultural area in the world where they do not already exist.*** As the world's prospects and problems move toward the 21st century, the social sciences in general and rural sociology in particular should have vast new roles to play. To meet this responsibility at a minimum level, International Rural Sociology Centers for research, training, and publication are needed in each of the major cultural areas. For optimum center development, instruction at each center should include the following subjects: (1) Methods and Statistics, (2) Social Change and Development, (3) Social Organization, (4) Social Institutions and Social Theory. The centers should operate in several languages; for example, in English, French, Spanish, and Arabic.

Each center should have separate physical space designated for its ex-

clusive use for a specified period of time; for example, a decade. Each center should be equipped with individual studies, seminar rooms, lecture rooms, laboratories, computers, special libraries, and secretarial staff as appropriate for its efficient operation. Illustrative patterns for these details of center organization can be seen in the Inter-American Institute for Agricultural Research in Turrialba, Costa Rica, and the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences at Palo Alto, California. Each center should have a permanent director and assistant director. The faculty should be visiting international professors on appointments of varying length.

In addition to accredited curriculum for graduate study in sociology, centers would organize, when appropriate, special workshops and symposiums for advanced training and study. A model for these special study workshops is already being experimented with by the Agricultural Development Council. For example in Korea a four week "Sociological Research Methods Workshop" [23] (1967) was organized under the joint auspices of the Korean Sociological Association and the Korean Agricultural Economics Association. The students were from many local agencies and universities. The workshop covered: research design and sampling; measurement; scales and indexes; questionnaire and interview construction; organizing and processing data; report writing; and so forth. Actual field work experience was made a part of the workshop. Lectures in English were translated into the local language.

2. ***That workshops be convened to allow small groups of international sociologists (including American rural sociologists) to write commissioned text books and/or other instructional materials suitable for all cultures.*** In addition to research and training as major center purposes, book-writing workshops need immediate center support. This emphasis should result in considerable resources being set apart for writing basic international monographs by small groups of international authors. This would immediately facilitate the dissemination of the best rural sociology research findings from across the world. Such books/monographs should be published in several languages.

Publications should be aimed particularly at serving introductory or undergraduate students as well as other social scientists. Initially, less emphasis needs to be placed on graduate study materials. The graduate students should spend more time examining original sources. They will, therefore, be served best by the development of center libraries where important but rare materials will be easily accessible.

Translations of center books and monographs into local, national languages should not be given a high priority as a center function. The primary focus of the centers should be continual support for development of an internationalized body of knowledge. Most responsibility for developing national materials should be placed on the national universities or national agencies.

3. ***That provisions be made at the Graduate Centers for training***

the trainers of change agents but that training centers be established in each nation for the training of change agents.

4. ***That funding for an initial period of ten years (two five-year terms) be sought from foundations.*** Rural sociology graduate centers will offer returns in intellectual achievement to their supporting universities, agencies, foundations, and countries, as well as to individual scholars and students. Many components of the center operation can be "borrowed" from existing university support for rural sociology at no additional cost. More excellence, however, in the personnel, material, and center organization will be achieved by greater dollar support. Funding for the first decade, based on two five-year experimental terms, should be sought through foundation support for the new and enriched elements of the Center program.

New components which will need foundation support are: (1) library acquisitions, personnel, and space; (2) funds for experiments in cooperative international research; (3) funds for new and special international courses and seminars; (4) funds for increased travel for research; (5) funds for center administration; and (6) funds for publication in multiple languages.

Professional Communication and International Flow of Data

1. ***That world congresses for rural sociology be held with greater frequency.*** Locations for meetings should continue to be rotated among the major world cultural areas as currently practised. Major financial support should be made available to provide travel costs to these congresses for rural sociologists all over the world in general on a competitive basis but with the proviso that the special needs of those from developing societies be taken into account.

2. ***That regional and/or multinational rural sociology conferences be established for geographical areas of the world where they do not now exist.*** These conferences should meet annually. Special subject areas or sections of these conferences might be supported to meet more frequently, as needed. Travel support for these regional conferences should be made available on the same basis as for World Congresses.

3. ***That journals emphasizing rural sociology subjects be started for every major world cultural area where such do not exist at present.*** These major journals should be abstracted in multiple languages. Systematic distribution of these major journals should be made to the International Rural Sociology Centers and to the major national universities and agencies where rural sociology work is supported.

4. ***That selected international and national libraries be identified as rural sociology depositories.*** At these libraries copies of all rural sociology publications should be located. Support for these officially designated depository rural sociology libraries should be jointly provided by agencies and universities on a consortium basis.

Recruitment Policies and Procedures for American Universities

1. ***That recruitment be differentiated for persons seeking basic Ph.D. work in rural sociology and for persons seeking applied training with or without Ph.D.*** In the first case (basic Ph.D. study) students should be rigorously selected on the basis of demonstrated high intellectual ability and comprehensive undergraduate training. In the second case (applied training) primary selection should be made on the basis of the person's having a guarantee of an applied position upon return to his/her home country or an appropriate non-American area.

2. ***That recruitment for applied study be supported for short periods (six months to one year) of study which would not be degree-oriented.*** This recruitment for special applied courses of study should only be supported when the training is not available in the home country. Also, if possible this training should be supported in home countries where such exists.

Training in Research Methodology and Theory Construction in the United States

1. ***That more balanced emphasis on the major reseach methods be placed during training, to improve professional communication and understanding across various traditions and social science disciplines.***

Social Theory Emphasis During Training in the United States

1. ***That rigorous training in theory development be as much a part of graduate training for rural sociologists as research methodology.***

2. ***That r e s e a r c h e r s be encouraged to state their research conclusions two or three degrees higher in level of generality to generate theoretical propositions and working hypotheses for future testing.***

Special Programs To Internationalize Rural Sociology and Rural Sociologists

1. ***That persons training to be international rural sociologists be given a minimum of two years of graduate training at the proposed international graduate centers outside their own cultural area and at a minimum of two such centers.***

2. ***That attempts be made to obtain consensus on a small list of basic concepts and professionals in each nation be encouraged to develop indices appropriate for the measurement of those concepts within their own society to facilitate cross-national and cross-cultural comparisons.*** International committees working on particular clusters of concepts could increase the productivity of this endeavor.

3. ***That the development of middle range propositions of general theoretical importance and cross-cultural transferability, and their testing in different cultures be given high priority to further the***

development of an international sociology.

We hope that after this report and its recommendations have been studied and discussed by rural sociologists, specific proposals through the Rural Sociological Society to government agencies, foundations, and universities will be formulated to obtain funds for the implementation of the experimental phases of these recommendations.

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